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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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11 July 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### GDR NAVY COOPERATION WITHIN BALTIC FLEET EXTOLLED

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 18, 11 Feb 83 pp 2-3

[Article by Rear Adm Hans Hess, deputy chief, People's Navy and chief, Political Administration: "Crews of People's Navy Combat Ships Closely Bound with Comrades-in-Arms"]

[Text] The "Comradeship-in-Arms Week" between 21 February and 1 March 1983, is an annual high point in close and fraternal solidarity between NVA members and their comrades-in-arms in the Soviet Army and Navy and between the GDR working people and the soldiers of our socialist defense coalition. Many joint friendship and comradeship-in-arms events document our irrevocable combat community. They document the joint responsibility of the socialist community of states for the reliable protection of peace and progress and the high state of fighting strength and combat readiness by the socialist armies and navies, above all the NVA, the Soviet Armed Forces Group in Germany, the units of the Baltic Red Banner Fleet and the Polish navy.

It has become a tradition, for instance, for the naval formation Kotte to hold a big people's festival under their comradeship-in-arms in these days. Combat ships of the Baltic Red Banner Fleet and the Polish navy will come in, cordially welcomed by hundreds of citizens, students and reservists of the garrison towns and guests from the partnership towns of the crews in the People's Navy. These eventful days are filled with military, athletic and cultural contests among the comrades-in-arms, ship inspections, talks with the sailors and military exercises.

#### Comrades-in-Arms Exchange Experiences

It also has become a longtime custom in our naval teaching institutions that during this week teachers and students of the USSR M. W. Frunze Naval Academy of Leningrad meet for an exchange of experiences with those in the Polish Naval Academy, "Heroes of Westerplatte." The method practiced for a long time already at the Karl Liebknecht Naval Academy, to put the best study methods of Soviet officer candidates into their own training program, under the motto, "Being Like Them," is reflected by the exemplary achievements of our future naval officers.

The indestructible and unselfish class and comradeship-in-arms in our ordinary military life is always aimed, vividly and directly, at increasing our operations and combat readiness in accordance with military requirements. It has become the custom for annual agreements to be concluded between the ships, units, formations and teaching institutions of the People's Navy and the comrades-in-arms of the Soviet Armed Forces Group in Germany, the Baltic Red Banner Fleet and the Polish navy. Whenever an opportunity offers itself, the commanding officers and specialists of the various careers meet to exchange experiences. Political officers and party and youth functionaries confer on topical tasks in communist education, socialist competition and the cultivation of the traditions.

Excursions are made to working class memorial sites and other sites worth seeing. They demonstrate in their own way the growing defense worthiness of socialism. Joint theoretical discussions are on the agenda for 1983, e.g. on the life and work of Karl Marx, the 65th anniversary of the November Revolution and the founding of the KPD.

#### High Dedication to the Protection of Peace

All this helps reinforce the class and arms alliance with Lenin's land. Socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism develop further and motivate each fighter to give his best, alongside his comrades-in-arms, to a growth in fighting strength and combat readiness for the defense of peace and socialism. That is demonstrated by the combat service coordination among the ships in the People's Navy, the Baltic Fleet and the Polish navy. NATO activities in the Baltic are under surveillance at all times.

Even though every ship holds its own outpost, each crew can rely on every other one. In conformity with plans, joint combat training, e.g. in missile, mine and submarine defense, or exercises during long trips, is undertaken by all three socialist Baltic navies. And each of these high points in training is combined with conferences on optimum solutions for the tasks assigned, with elaborating uniform standards, experience exchange and performance comparisons, and political, cultural and athletic contests among the fighters. And personal friendships come out of it, too.

Also in the field of socialist armed forces, success is the result of genuine socialist cooperative efforts. That is shown, not last, by how many of our officers study at USSR military teaching institutions, and in the introduction of new Soviet combat equipment. Our officers can study the most advanced socialist military science and analyze the needed military technical documentation. Soviet officers advise them in this all the time. All that encourages them toward impressive performances of their own in coping with modern military affairs and the most up-to-date arms.

The efforts and achievements of our soldiers, pilots and sailors are impressively integrated in the peace strategy by the states of the socialist community for preventing world war. The Warsaw Pact armies and navies constitute a reliable shield of protection against the dangerous policy of the most aggressive imperialist circles. Alongside the glorious USSR armed forces, the members of the NVA also will always make their contribution to the secure protection of all that which the hands of the people produce.

## ROLE OF LOCAL TRADE UNION COUNCILS EXAMINED

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Apr 83 pp 75-81

[Article by Thoma Shiko: "Role of Local Trade Union Councils Examined"]

[Text] The 9th Congress of the Albanian Trade Unions made changes in the organizational structure of this mass organization. The creation of central councils and local councils of trade unions, in accordance with branches and sectors of the economy and the culture and the clear designation of their functions and responsibilities in a statute constitute an important measure which will undoubtedly serve to improve their educational, mobilizing and controlling role and activity.

The construction of the new organizational structure is dictated by a need for the qualitative improvement of the work of the trade unions, in order that they draw closer to the laborers and other workers, develop more concrete, more differentiated and more skilled work with the people for their education and mobilization, and bring--better than until now--the voice of the masses to the party. This organizational change will aid, above all, in the better execution of the fundamental task which the party has assigned to trade unions 'for the ideo-political and technico-vocational education of the working class, for making them able to successfully accomplish not only the tasks in the area of production, but in all other areas of the life of the country, to take an active part in the direction of state and social work, to exercise everywhere and over everyone its control of the class in power' (Enver Hoxha, "Report at the VIIIth Congress of the AWP," pp 99-100).

The work of several years executed by sectors created according to branches of the economy in the apparatus of the General Council of Albanian Trade Unions, the extension of this structure for a time in several of the apparatuses of district trade union councils and the activity, up to now, of central councils and local councils have created a rich experience which constitutes the basis of the work method and style of the local councils set up in the districts. The seminar organized by the General Council of Albanian Trade Unions in October of last year in Durres, with the chairmen and secretaries of district trade union councils and local councils, to see what innovations the local councils are bringing about and what additional and better things are required from them, assisted in the study and generalization of this experience and in its further enrichment.

The main task of the central councils and local councils of trade unions is the solution and application of directives and guidelines of the party in those sectors where they militate. The successful realization of this fundamental task, as practiced up to now shows, depends largely on the breadth and depth of the conception of their role and the extents of the effort which are being made for the recognition and application of responsibilities which they have been given.

Above all, it is necessary to bear in mind that the local councils of trade unions in the districts are leading organs with important tasks within the single system of trade unions. They are not constructed as independent and separate links. The organizational structure of the construction and the responsibilities of the central and local councils correspond to the principle of direction by a single center of the trade unions: at headquarters, by the General Council and in the districts, by district councils of trade unions. The selection of local councils by the district council of trade unions justifies the fact that they work under its direction; they apply the decisions of the district trade unions' conferences and they respond to and are accountable for the tasks which the district council sets.

1. Since the operating time of local councils is still shorter, in those districts where there is a better conception of their role and where work is accomplished more effectively for the practical execution of this role, the local councils have brought about a range of new positive elements in the work of trade unions, such as the foundation of concrete and differentiated work, the strengthening of assistance and control for headquarters, the securing of a broad and frontal activity on the part of trade union organizations and their plenum members, and a range of other achievements which are being constantly and better crystallized.

Where are these achievements supported and how are they obtained?

Practice is indicating that the local councils, grasping, analysing and resolving the most diverse problems which arise and trouble the trade union organizations of a branch, or an economic and cultural sector, have, in fact, extended the activity of trade union councils with a much richer and more variegated subject matter with concrete problems which cannot be realized at this level by the latter in conditions of previous organizational construction. The local councils have recently given valuable treatment to a range of important problems, such as those for the perfecting of work norms in several branches of industry and agriculture, for the training and education of machine operators, for electrical energy and fuel conservation, but the raising of the level of service in the public catering business and in boarding schools, for the application of initiative in the reduction of time in the construction of buildings, for the improvement of working conditions and of the life of workers in several work sectors, etc.

It is particularly important to bear in mind that the local councils in the districts have not only further examined problems in all sectors of the economy and culture, but have also analyzed them more deeply and have determined more concrete, more applicable and more controlling measures which have

created conditions for making work more effective, in accordance with various characteristics and categories of workers.

With the creation of local councils, practical possibilities have been created for further reinforcing the connections of leading organs of the trade unions with organizations at the grassroots and with the workers, to find out their opinions and judgments, their work and the difficulties they encounter, in order to stimulate creative and innovative thought, revolutionary movements, initiatives and actions, in order to deepen the work of organization for the ideo-political and technico-vocational education of the workers, in order to temper the socialist awareness in the attitude toward work and social property, and to further improve the controlling role of the trade unions in the solution--in accordance with the party line and the laws of the state--of the special problems which various categories of workers have.

Through these work values of local councils it is clear that, with their creation and by means of their activity, new possibilities are created to implement the recommendation of Comrade Enver Hoxha that 'The trade unions should improve their educational work, should make it concrete and closely connected with life, with the problems which trouble the various categories of workers...they should struggle against routine, globalism and formalism in educational work and utilize living, skillful and manifold work forms in order to respond to the level, interests and requirements of the class and to new situations and tasks' (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the VIIIth Congress of the AWP," p 100). And it is a fact that the activity of these councils is bringing new positive elements into the overall activity of the organization. Improvements are observed especially in the perfecting of the method of management, assistance and control of leading organs given to the grassroots, in the increase of initiative and independent activity of the organization, in the development of a more concrete and differentiated work with the people.

Naturally, the achievement everywhere of such results depends largely on the correct evaluation of the role of local councils, in the first place, on members of these councils, but also on the party committees and on the district councils of trade unions. Where the local councils are conceived as revolutionary links in the organizational structure of trade unions, they serve better the purposes for which they have been raised, especially for a differentiated analysis of party directives, for their more rapid transmission, in a fuller and clearer manner, to the grassroots organizations, and for the organization of concrete work for their execution. On the other hand, where these councils are conceived in a bureaucratic manner, as a link with a merely organizational character which increases the collecting of materials, naturally, their practical activity, too, is weaker and less effective.

And incorrect concepts regarding the role, place and tasks of these councils are found almost everywhere, even in cadres of district trade unions themselves. They go so far as saying that these councils must take upon themselves everything having to do with their sectors and, on this basis, they recommend for them broad work programs of meetings and studies, and

expect them to solve all those problems of the sectors which they cover without giving them any of the necessary assistance.

Naturally, the local councils, like all the trade union organs and organizations, must be characterized by a strong feeling of responsibility for the realization of tasks. But no less important is the need that they have, especially in this initial period of their activity, for continual and concrete assistance and control, in order to be strengthened organizationally, to delve more deeply in their work and, gradually, but as rapidly as possible, to become leading organs expanded for the tasks which they have been charged with executing. And this is achieved not by confining them only to discussions about the work of local councils and watching them from a distance, but by putting them into activity, into action and by assisting them so that in the course of their work they may fully assume their character, so that they may better master the method of management, organization, education, control and revolutionary mobilization of workers for the fulfillment of tasks and directives of the party in all areas.

2. With their concrete activity better connected to the grassroots, the local councils help in the invigoration and further improvement of all the work of the district trade unions, therefore the district trade union councils themselves, by means of local councils, have the possibility of moving closer and better the center of gravity of all their own leadership, their work, assistance and control at the grassroots, but also of doing more skilled generalized work based on a more profound knowledge of problems and anxieties of the sectors and enterprises, of the opinions, observations and proposals of workers. And this is so, because now each local council focuses its attention on organizations of particular sectors and helps to ensure that educational and mobilizing work of organizations is carried out with concrete directions and objectives, on the specific basis of each enterprise or institution. Likewise, each local council has an opportunity to increase assistance and control to raise the level of the work of organizations in the most important enterprises and institutions, as well as in those in remote zones or those which have greater importance in the fulfillment of tasks, and of attending, in particular, to those organizations which exhibit more acute problems, which have more need for assistance and control, in order to resolve them and make them healthy.

We see that such possibilities are now concretized in many sectors and especially in the trade union organizations. In the sectors of education, culture, health and commerce; formerly these had many deficiencies, but after the creation of local district councils, the situation of organizations in these sectors, too, improved. The trade union organizations in education, for example, have recently done great work for the analysis and execution--by the army of teachers and pedagogs--of tasks which emerge from the resolution of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party on improving the quality of work in schools, while the local councils for communications-construction and for the communal sector of the districts of Shkoder, Pogradec, Durres and others have discussed in their meetings the initiative for the reduction of construction time for buildings in construction enterprises. They have given trade organizations and committees practical assistance in recognizing the great importance which the generalization of this initiative

has for the realization of tasks of the plan, as well as for its concrete execution. Fruitful work is being done by other local councils in all districts of the country.

The whole activity of the trade unions, as well as of other levers of the party, is built on the basis of the line, directives and resolutions of the party, while the effectiveness of this activity largely depends on the extent to which and the way in which this line, these directives and resolutions have been known to workers and how the grassroots organization of the trade unions have worked to mobilize each member for their execution. This also constitutes the major aim of the activity of the local councils of the districts. But the extent of their influence in the embodiment of the line and directives of the party in the practical activity of each grassroots organization and of each member of trade unions largely depends on the extent to which these councils themselves know the directive, the extent to which and the way in which they master these resolutions and the guidelines of the district party committee for their sectors and then on the skillfulness and feeling of responsibility with which they work for their resolution and implementation. The achievement of these objectives, naturally, requires, in the first place, a great effort by the local councils themselves, but also attention and special assistance from district and central councils of trade unions, not only to inform the local councils on a timely basis about the directives which the party gives from time to time, but also to assist in the determination of more fruitful methods to promote and monitor their execution at the grassroots.

In all the directives and guidelines which the party gives, a special importance is assumed by those which have to do with the determination of major directions in political, ideological, organizational, qualifying and mobilizing work for the realization of tasks of the plan, this is the case with those of the 6th Plenum of the party's Central Committee for the fulfillment of tasks of the 1983 plan. Naturally, the realization of these tasks constitutes the most important object of educational, mobilizing, organizational and management work for all the levers of the party. But the trade union organizations have their special place and role in this area.

Special tasks emerge from this place and from this role for the local trade union councils in the districts. In cases when particular sectors or enterprises create gaps in the realization of the plan, the local councils have the duty, in collaboration with the state and local organs, as well as with other mass organizations, under the leadership of the organs and basic organizations of the party, to intervene in order to change the situation.

The local councils must have a better sense of the task on which they concentrate assistance and control, in the first place, in the trade union organizations of those enterprises which do not appear to be realizing tasks of the plan well and, within their jurisdictions, they must work energetically to remedy the situation. In this direction there are good examples of work from many local councils, but not lacking, too, are many cases of insufficient work, such as that of the local council of trade unions for agriculture in Kukes District which, although it was informed about the unsatisfactory situation in



the fulfillment of work norms in agricultural enterprises of the district, was satisfied only with a discussion of this situation in its meeting, but did not treat it with the workers in order to discover the causes and in order to give its own assistance in overcoming it. Several other local councils have also had such weaknesses in their work method, especially those which cover the sectors of construction, commerce and some others which, not maintaining regular, continual and effective connections with the grassroots organizations of the trade unions were deficiencies in the fulfillment of tasks of the plan are felt, are not giving them any assistance necessary for the stimulation of activity in these directions where there is even more need for their influence.

Making closer contact with the organizations, with the trade committees, with the activists and with the workers, in order to learn more about the problems which are a matter of concern for the enterprises, the brigades and the workers' collectives, constitutes the essence of the method and style of work which must characterize the activity of the local councils of trade unions in the districts. And the possibilities do exist to ensure these connections. In the local councils are grouped almost all the members of the plenum of the district trade unions, something which creates a possibility of their more massive activism in the fulfillment of tasks, as members of organs of leadership in the districts. We must see and require this activism in meetings where problems of the various sectors which each council covers are treated, but especially outside them, where concrete work is accomplished for the execution of tasks which are designated in support of party directives. Conscious of the priority which concrete work at the grassroots must have among workers and other members of trade unions, and together with them, the council of trade unions of the District of Tirana, from 15 October until 15 November 1982, launched into concrete action four local councils of this district, activating their 106 members.

All the members of local councils must be assigned concrete tasks, must be activated in work groups for assistance, control and for confrontations, must struggle for the solution of questions which the workers raise and, with initiative, must follow the course of revolutionary initiatives, movements and actions.

The activity of local councils is developed under the leadership of the party and on the basis of norm principles defined in the statute of the Albanian trade unions. Their work is characterized by independent activity and initiatives and by the collegial and personal work of members. But they also have a need for skilled and effective assistance which extends the horizon of their work and of the struggle which they develop for the overcoming of obstacles and difficulties which they encounter. The main cadres of district trade union councils and the central councils in the General Council of Albanian Trade Unions have the greatest tasks in this direction.

The primary task of each of these councils is to analyze the party directives for the local councils on the basis of concrete conditions in the sectors of the economy and culture and to assist in the practical activity for the perfecting of the work method and for the realization of tasks on the basis of the jurisdiction which they have been given. Among others, the

chairmen and secretaries of district trade union councils have the duty to coordinate the work of local councils in order that there not be duplication and conflict in their work; they must also organize collaboration among them on related problems with which they are concerned, as was done in Korae District where the local council for construction, communications and communal affairs and that of education-culture-health and commerce organized a mass discussion in the organizations of the trade unions council for communal affairs, health and commerce on the improvement of service to the people, activating for this goal 46 of their members and a wide range of activists.

In assistance that is given to local councils by the chairmen and secretaries of district trade union councils, it must always be borne in mind that their independent activity should be encouraged, preserving them from any manifestation of tutelage and the placing of these councils in abeyance.

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CITIZENS QUOTED ON LIFE UNDER 'REAL SOCIALISM'

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German Vol 38 No 22, 27 May 83 p 36

['Feuilleton' feature article by Peter Mosler, free-lance writer, Vogelsberg, Hesse, FRG; author of book on student movement, "Was wir wollten, was wir wurden" (What We Wanted, What We Became) and of book of essays, "Die vielen Dinge machen arm" (Things in Abundance Make One Poor), both published by Rowohlt Verlag, Reinbek near Hamburg: "The GDR Is Different, But Not as We Imagine It to Be: Trip to the Far East--Talks With Workers, Clergymen, Writers"]

[Text] Whoever visits the GDR will discover a peculiar beauty. When I went on an excursion along the border between Oderbruch and Niderbarnim, I drove through villages which were reminiscent of former times. In the rural regions of the GDR one rarely encounters destruction through construction. A country road with head stone pavement, lined with oak trees, leads to the small town of Freienwalde. I dived into the oak avenue as if into a tunnel, and the road brought back the memory of traditional designations, such as Hohlweg (Narrow Path) or Knueppeldamm (Corduroy Road). Freienwalde, too, looks like small towns here in the West must have looked before the war: Beautiful burgher houses, small clearly arranged squares, angled alleys. Only from the inside has the town disintegrated--the real middle class of the towns, those engaged in small-scale industry and independent businessmen no longer exist.

Since there is a housing shortage in the GDR, the larger cities there, too, are not spared from destruction through construction. A trip to the Brandenburg Marches, via the arterial road Frankfurt Avenue (formerly Stalin Avenue). From the Alexanderplatz (Alexander Square)--there still under the name of Karl-Marx-Avenue--to the newly built-up district of Marzahn, it is the backbone of the city of Berlin. But Marzahn is the ass of Berlin. There the slums of the year 2000 are coming into being. Marzahn is a residential district, 2.5 by 4 kilometers in size, the Brandenburg district of East Berlin, only younger and more hopeless. At the present time, 40,000 people live there, in the end there are to be 90,000. No movie theater, no theater, no swimming pool, hardly any movie theaters, hardly any consumer goods stores. Construction is by the industrial building method with standardized parts, and already today there exist agreements in housing communities in Marzahn to the effect that no baths are taken after 9 p.m. because of the noise.

Not that the city planners in the GDR are not familiar with the problems of

the progressive psychic deterioration in such residential districts. After all there is already a novel in the GDR which deals with destruction through urban planning: Brigitte Reimann's "Franziska Linkerhand". But everywhere housing districts of the Marzahn type are still being built: In Jena, Halle and elsewhere.

I continue driving through the Brandenburg countryside. What is real socialism? Among other things, real socialism is: Large continuous farm fields, which can be cultivated with the machine park--large tractors, combines, wide band insecticides--sprayed by airplane. Traces of the insecticides can be recognized all the way to the blackberry bushes along the field-paths. Since approximately a year, ecological data are no longer allowed to be published in the technical press--because of the increased ecological consciousness of the population. "And some of the data we do not know ourselves," a crop protection expert told me, "for example, the lead and cadmium residues in heads of cabbage". Near Gotha two men are fishing in a river with long poles and are cleaning it. One of them is a water warden. "I am a member of the Greens," he says, smiling mischievously, "that is to say, in the West!"

A village in Brandenburg. Two new houses are going up next to several decayed houses. At 7 p.m. on Saturday there is no one in the fields anymore--with the exception of a scarecrow. There is a regulated working time and vacation. Overtime work during harvest is paid. Only two vehicles on the road during my hour-long walk through the village. No discovery traffic on Saturday evening as in the West--consequently no exhaust gases. A stork's nest in the village--of which the GDR supposedly has about 5,000.

A new experience for me was the fact that talking is possible in the GDR without being dominated by power considerations. In the large community to which the village in Brandenburg belongs I learned to know the party secretary. Our conversation began seriously. He said: "If things go on like this, Reagan, Thatcher, and perhaps Strauss, then there surely will be a third world war. . ." Like many people in the GDR and in the FRG, he is afraid of nuclear catastrophe. When I asked him about reunification, he replied: "Of course! I want reunification, within the framework of a united Europe, that means of course: Withdrawal from the blocs!"

He explains his membership in the party with his idea of the Long March in the SED: "Remain here and grumble here! For me my office is a long march through the apparatus. I have been doing this for three years, and I am confident because I am not alone. There are more comrades of my type." Prior to my trip to the GDR, it was beyond my power to imagine that I would get acquainted with a party secretary with whom I have a sincere and honest relationship. Evidently, the point is not only to doubt reality, but also our conception of reality. The fact that a party secretary is not narrow-minded, trivial and Prussian contradicts still more our image of reality than reality itself. The GDR reality is different from FRG reality, but differently different than in our heads.

There is a well-known saying by Volker Braun: "The GDR is the land where it is most difficult to publish, but which is also best-suited for writing." This saying time and again accompanied me in my talks in the GDR. In Dresden I met a young, 30-year old authoress, which thus far has written only for the drawer.

And she does have self-doubts, for she finds encouragement only within a "circle of friends", which is the designation in the GDR for semi-organized meetings which are not officially organized by the party. When we talked about the conditions of writing in the GDR, she said: "The social reality in the GDR cannot be depicted through language!"--"Do we need a new utopia?" a third person asked. --"For the coming 10 years this republic is not fit for anything like a utopia. I am beginning to get interested in the myth; that is where my self is, in the myth. I can bear witness to my self, for I have nothing besides myself."

The young authoress from Dresden had been in prison because of her signature of an appeal against the Biermann-expatriation and she went on to say: "The Biermann-campaign, the protest against the expatriation of Biermann, to be sure, is linked to his person, but did not exhaust itself in it. I, too, am writing, but I did not know him personally. He was not even a symbol, a symbol of the suppression of nonconformist culture in the GDR. It was simply a protest against the arbitrariness of the state, you understand, an arbitrariness which many at one time experienced on their own person. As I see it, Christa Wolf has a much more important role among us than Biermann. Christa is the Heinrich Boell of the GDR. People who are in danger can expect help from her. Christa Wolf is frequently an intermediary between careless young authors and the state. At the same time it is she who takes the time to encourage young writers and to criticize their texts."

Another poet of the rising generation in Magdeburg, 40 years old, has been waiting for 10 years for the chance to publish. But he is not embittered. He is denying himself the possibility to publish in the West. "That is also a political decision." He says: "It took me 10 years to find my own tone. In the beginning I thought that language is only expression, meaning. Today I know that language is also sound, tone and musical variation. For this, I used my time, and I am glad not have published earlier."

Resignation? Perhaps it is also realism, which GDR citizens gain from their seemingly inexhaustible store of patience. Perhaps it was indeed useful to the Magdeburg poet that he took so much time, until, to a significant extent, he can orient himself on an example like Arno Schmidt. Today the Magdeburg poet says in a self-confident, almost apodictic tone: "Art has no purposes!"

In our conversation he continues: "There are spheres here in the GDR. What always annoys me so is this overbearing assertion of the Western press that there are no free spheres. There are free spheres if someone wants to use them. A free sphere exists, even in our country, if there is a need. Where no free sphere is conquered, there is also no need. And finally, that is the fateful role of your press, where a free sphere in the West becomes public, it is closed."

This presumably is also true of the private readings, which are held by GDR authors in homes. The "Buschfunk" [grape vine; literally brush radio transmission], the private communication of news within the GDR-"scene", announced the readings, and the listeners come together from various cities. According to a statement by Klaus Hoepcke, GDR deputy minister of culture, now require an

authorization. Previously there existed a situation of excess pressure: It was made almost impossible for authors, who were not candidates or members of the official writers' union, to hold public readings. At the same time, for quite a while the state tolerated private readings, occasionally even with a Stasi [State Security Service] present. In the meantime, the private readings have also become sufficiently known in the West, and whoever does not register them must reckon with a fine. To be sure, such registered private readings were formerly rarely tolerated. But I am convinced that the GDR-"scene", here, too, will find a way out.

A free sphere recognized by the state, as it were, has been conquered by the church in the GDR. Thus the initiatives of the "scene", ecological and peace work, have grouped themselves in the vicinity of the church. Nevertheless, the discussions concerning the role of church are extraordinarily controversial and agitated among young people. "The church," says a young man, "is copied after the organizational principle of the state: It is a hierarchy, too. What a single deacon, a student pastor, and every individual does in the church, that I recognize. But when the apparatus comes--there is calculation behind it! They want to fill the churches again. In Berlin they brought punkers into the church, and then it became too much for them, and they threw the punkers out again." I even met a student pastor who admitted that a part of the commitment of the church to peace work is selfish--in order to make contacts with young people.

I wanted to travel back to the FRG from Eisenach. There I accidentally got acquainted with an "ideal-type" representative of the "ruling class": A skilled worker, 25 years old, married, 2 children. His apartment has two rooms, a kitchen, no bath or toilet, the john in the hallway. In the living room the status symbols of the worker in the GDR: Colored television and wall-to-wall cabinets. At the railway station I wanted to purchase a ticket to West Germany and asked how long he would still be up. He looked up with irritation and said: "How long? Oh, you mean when we will go to bed.--Well, after "Dallas" is over!"

Later, when I came back, we talked some more. The young worker voiced the opinion: "If you are only concerned with the state, why are the politicians engaging in so much nonsense, if they are not at all concerned with people? If the FRG would recognize us, we can [sic] move more freely. And reunification! Why don't you unite with Austria, that is easier. ...!" There were few certainties with which I left the GDR. Rather the certainties with which I came had begun to waver.

In Berlin I met a young worker, a flipped-out type, who had broken off two apprenticeships. When I tested him, including on the relationship between the working class and the state, he came up with this dialectical bon mot: "The state belongs to us, otherwise nothing belongs to us!" Is this not the proletarian, the real socialist "L'etat c'est moi" [I am the state]? Or, expressed theoretically in Bahro: "The abolition of private property for the time being has by no means meant its transformation into public property. Rather the entire society, without property, confronts its state machine."

On either side people run up against the limits of their systems--whether capitalism or real socialism. A community representative without party affiliation

from a community in Oderbruch: "What I see is: Capitalism is at its end. But socialism, too, is unable to cope with the problems of the present. There must be something else, so that nature and mankind can be saved--a sort of renaissance in modern times."

8970

CSO: 2300/280

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

YOUTH ORGAN ATTACKS EAST BERLIN 'PROVOCATIVE' FILM

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 68, 6 May 83, 'iew-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "Scathing Criticism of DEFA Film." A translation of the East German JUNGE WELT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The most recent DEFA production "Island of Swans" by Herrmann Zschoche based on a youth book by Benno Pludra of the same title has caused fierce criticism in the GDR press. The film relates the story of a boy who moves from a small town to a new residential area of East Berlin, where he has to deal with a violent youth group. The reviewers mainly attacked the film for its one-sided, sullen portrayal of his environment. JUNGE WELT, the East Berlin Free German Youth newspaper [13 May 1983], published negative comments by as many as nine youths, including their complaints that "a destroyed, unreal environment does not allow to make the main hero feel at home." According to these youths, the film only shows how the city becomes a struggle for survival for him, and this "is not based on real life, but on fiction." NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, the SED official newspaper, blamed the "disadvantageous adaptation" of the book mainly on Ulrich Plenzdorf, script author. According to the newspaper, his own view of the book had caused "zeal and determination on his part to consistently overlook reality."

FDJ Critical Analysis

East Berlin JUNGE WELT in German Vol 37 No 112, 13 May 83 p 5

[Article by Hans Eggert, deputy chief editor, JUNGE WELT, organ of Central Council, Free German Youth (FDJ): A DEFA (East Berlin film studio) Film on the Dark Side of Things-Reflections on the New DEFA Film 'Island of Swans,' Based on a Book of the Same Title by Benno Pludra"]

[Text] "The young people who build and defend socialism wish to discover the great revolutionary upheavals of our times, which coin our era, in the arts as well. We therefore ask writers and artists to concentrate even more on such heros, providing a standard for many youths by which to judge their own progress in life, and to support their role within our socialist society--i.e., heros that serve socialism as it really is. This always means that the heros in art



are similar to the heroes of real life, that they take an offensive approach in bringing our Marxist-Leninist viewpoints into the arts, and that they are not next to, but in the very midst of everyday fights and victories." (From the FDJ Central Council Report to the XIth Parliament of the FDJ.)

Those who know Benno Pludra's book "Island of Swans" have high expectations of the film of the same title. And those who also know of the achievements of director Herrmann Zschoche (e.g., "Seven Freckles") expect a real film experience. After seeing this new DEFA film, we were disappointed, above all. Why?

Benno Pludra's book "Island of Swans" tells the story of 13-year old Stephan who moves from a village to a new residential area of Berlin. The basic message of this book is that the departure from something customary always means arriving at something new. A continuing longing for feeling secure within the quaint village collides with the excitements of city life. But in both places you find people like you and me, who help in forming this country, structure it according to their will and, naturally, have their problems with it.

The film version of a book is always subject to a risk: It is bound to be measured by the verified standards of literature, it calls for interference, selection and possibly a plot. Everything makes sense if subjected to this purpose: adding something new of your own to the already known, without misrepresenting the existing. What then is so different about the filming of the "Island of Swans," for which Ulrich Plenzdorf wrote the scenario?

In the film the tenants of a new residential area of Berlin appear to be living less for others than for themselves. Yes, some even live against each other. Those who fight back, like Stephan, eventually have to fight for survival. One may say, "That happens," or "Such is life." However, this warrants of question of whether it is true.

The dispute about the answer is what the pros and cons of the views regarding this DEFA film, which were submitted to us, are all about. The discussion on how new social behavior gains ground when people move into a new environment, is an important issue, without a doubt. We therefore publish viewpoints of our readers who, after seeing the film, expressed their basic concern to the effect that everything positive and useful that has been achieved in the course of the residential construction program is negated by the film.

Are disturbed relationships between young people and adults the exception or the rule?

Is it possible that in a children-loving country children and adolescents make their wishes known mainly by aggressive destruction?

Why is an 11-year old suggested to ask the provocative question, "Are you the boss or a worker?" Good drama performance by children and youths is readily misused here.

When realistically comparing Pludra and Plenzdorf, we find that the book's given contents have been severely curtailed. In the book the hero looks for allies

(pioneer supervisors, teachers, construction workers) and finds a friendly world. In Plenzdorf's film Stephan finds himself a loner, a courageous outsider in our world, in spite of his radiating influence on some others.

Those who use literature and block out the aspects of human warmth and self-confidence of those involved in social processes in our country, have to submit to being questioned for their reasons and intentions.

This creates the impression that courage and morale of young heroes are on the dark side of reality. This is no longer an issue of successful or unsuccessful film episodes, but one of principles.

Are the spectacular and the special in films on adolescents more attractive than the dialectics of everyday life and the earthshaking?

Some may find it unfair to bring up such basic problems, taking the example of "Island of Swans," particularly as it does contain a number of very nice scenes. This may be true, but is it not equally unfair that quite a number of DEFA films leave repeated claims on the part of the youth organization unanswered, as formulated 2 years ago at the XIth FDJ Parliament, for example?

Let it be clearly understood: Nobody wants impeccable heroes. Nobody wants their eyes closed where conflicts surface, interference is necessary, and attitudes clash!

Different views can promote common understanding. This applies to artists as well as journalists. As much as we consider it our daily mandate in the Junge Welt to discover everything and everybody that can further us and set first-class standards, as little do we understand the apparent fear of some DEFA producers of films for youths to touch this part of reality which determines how things go in our society. We know (from our own experience!) that it takes effort and continued involvement and argumentation in order not to satisfy oneself with "real things," as Brecht so aptly said, but to show things how they really are--not only register phenomena that catch the eye, but make their characteristics known and heard.

The conclusion after seeing "Island of Swans" is that art thrives on conflict. Does it have the right, however, to extinguish the lights where it feels compelled to show the dark?

9544

CSO: 2300/260

## DECENTRALIZATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS URGED

Budapest MAGYAR TUDOMANY in Hungarian No 5, 1983 pp 341-352

[Article by Gyorgy Enyedi\*: "Transformation of the Hungarian Population Settlement Network"]

[Text] The transformation of the Hungarian population settlement network in the past 2 decades has occupied in a lively way the interest of researchers and practical planners alike. Thoroughgoing analyses have been prepared on the condition of the network and the directions of the transformation following the liberation.<sup>1</sup> But very different deductions were drawn from these analyses: one and the same phenomenon was evaluated sometimes as a sign of development and sometimes as a distortion. "Never could our truth bring us to the truth"--this is how the author of a recent article on the settlement development debates quoted Ady as his motto.<sup>2</sup> And it is not easy: the settlement changes are perceived differently by the resident, the technical planner, the administrative expert, the economic planner and the social science researcher.

In recent years the subject has exceeded the scope of narrow specializations: it has drawn the attention of sociographers, publicists and the mass media. The interest is understandable: the settlement embraces the organizational-regional-technical areas and forms of complete social activities. Our living conditions and our place in Hungarian society depend not only on the level of our education, our occupation, our income and our age but also on our place of residence and the settlement environment that prescribe our living space.

Why is there right now an increasing interest in the problems of area settlement development? Not because it is in this area that we nowadays experience the greatest tensions! Rather their relative importance has increased because in recent decades we have eliminated social disparities of greater importance than the differences in the settlement environment (for example, the income disadvantage of agricultural employment or the tremendous industrial employment preponderance of Budapest). In addition, of course, conflicts arising from our settlement network's entering a new phase of development have appeared. Conflicts naturally accompany development--and are not the result of some kind of planning errors. These errors

\*Speech delivered 5 May at the opening session of the Academy's 1983 General Assembly.

arise when we do not seek to serve normal social processes with settlement transformation, but vice versa: we seek to squeeze social movements into some kind of settlement dogma we have conceived.

My colleagues and I investigated over the past decade the transformation of the Hungarian population settlement network. With our research results we participated in the debates that heatedly confronted informal and differing views in the 1970s. Among the results, for example, was the discovery of those areas of effective strength in village settlement that were dying, stagnating and dynamically developing; settlement development practice in the 1970s was evidence of an increased centering on the city; and it establishes the excessive degree of plan-directive type central distribution in settlement development; conceptualization of the contradictory nature of the village-city convergence and so forth.<sup>3</sup> And finally, the debates appear to be successful: our settlement policy is now being transformed.

In order to establish the bases for a renewed settlement policy, it is not enough to reveal the conflicts, but it is also necessary to develop the directions possible for a new course of development. To do this, we need the following in my view:

1. The settlement network must be conceived of as a dynamic system which moves on a course of equilibrium.<sup>4</sup> In fact, the transformation of a settlement network is the search for a condition of equilibrium in which the distribution of the population by area and settlement is at the optimum from the viewpoint of the development of producer forces.

2. Accordingly, in order to determine the course of equilibrium, it is necessary to discover the area distribution trends of the productive forces and in general to establish transformation of the settlement network in the permanent and total processes of modern urbanization.

It is the basic principle of my presentation that on entering the intensive phase of development the Hungarian economy was characterized by the area deconcentration of productive forces. But area regulation and branch regulation, which strongly affect settlement development, remained concentrated in their influences and obstructed the development of a new course of equilibrium. Some of our well-known conflicts derive from this anti-regulation.

To prove my thesis, I am proceeding from the viewpoint that modern urbanization is cyclical and concentration-deconcentration phases alternate. That is, I reject the widespread concept that the tide of urban growth sweeps away everything in its path and is an objective law of development. According to my assumptions, urban growth has its phases of expansion and contraction.

## The Four Phases of Urbanization

If we study urban growth over the past 2 decades in world dimensions, we can differentiate among four phases of modern (after the Industrial Revolution) urbanization. Their course is not the same in individual countries: it also depends on when (in what historical economic era), with what kind of historically developed settlement network, and in what kind of social system they enter on the individual phases of the cycle. The phases are not sharply differentiated from one another; they may exist in a parallel way both within a country and at a given time. It is an important lesson that the individual phases--proceeding from Western Europe, the development center of modern urbanization--are gradually spreading over the whole world and despite local modifications are of a global character.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, they may also be used to forecast the transformation of the Hungarian population settlement network.

The first phase of the cycle is the urban explosion, a rapid increase in urban growth. This is clearly the period of the population's settlement concentration. The beginning of the phase is linked to the Industrial Revolution, in general the takeoff of the modern economy. Western Europe entered this phase at the turn of the 18th and 19th century. Partly related to contemporary technology and partly as a consequence of the broad urban network which was developed in the Middle Ages, industrialization extended deeply to the settlement network. Urban growth was started at numerous points of the network and was not limited to otherwise spectacularly developing large cities.

In North America the Industrial Revolution found basically an urban-type settlement network. The European settlers established themselves primarily in cities, chiefly on the shore of the Atlantic Ocean but also of the Pacific Ocean and along the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. The North American Industrial Revolution had its technological and manpower source in Europe. Therefore, the urban explosion that followed the Industrial Revolution was bound chiefly to the Atlantic seaboard. Only after the Industrial Revolution was rural America established in mass dimensions--the Middle West, the major agrarian area, was opened up only a good century ago.<sup>6</sup>

The two factors mentioned above--the broad development of the urban network in Western Europe prior to the Industrial Revolution and the late settlement in North America of the agrarian zone--played a great role in the fact that in this area the urban population developed relatively fast into a majority within the population as a whole.

The developing countries embarked are embarking in our times on the path of modern urbanization. The urban explosion is of elemental strength--today the Third World is the scene of rapid urban growth. This development is only slightly linked to the Industrial Revolution. In the so-called rapidly industrializing and developing countries, the effect of the Industrial Revolution is clear. But in most of the developing countries, urban growth is based on a rural crisis rather than on urban economic

development. Enormous masses are looking for a refuge in cities from an agriculture which is backward in its social structure and overpopulated--but without being able to find adequate employment in their new place. A large part--or even a majority--of the inhabitants in the large cities with populations of many millions become, in the absence of work opportunity, a parasitic subclass eking out an existence on the garbage of large cities. Urban growth is limited only to a few cities, and in the small countries to only one; there is no small and medium-sized city network. Of the 38 cities on earth with a population greater than 4 million, 22 are in the Third World--but the ratio of the urban population to the total inhabitants is only 30 percent.<sup>7</sup> The present sites of the urban explosion--in most cases--are in the most economically backward and most rural countries. The rural population is also increasing (due to the high natural reproduction ratio) and makes up 70 to 80 percent of the total population.

The second phase of the urbanization cycle is characterized by relative decentralization. Urban growth continues but is significantly being slowed down: in large city centers the population may even decline, but it increases rapidly in the suburbs. The rural area is becoming differentiated: the dynamic and declining village groups are becoming separated from each other. This urbanization phase corresponds to the intensive phase of economic development.

In the most developed industrial countries, this phase began at the end of the last century and lasted until the 1950s and 1960s. The polarization of urban agglomerations (urbanized areas) and rural areas replaced the former, simple rural-urban contrast.

Urbanization theories in the first half of our century projected this phase also for the future. Soviet architects in the 1920s and socially sensitive architects in Europe saw social progress and the disappearance of the social disadvantages of the village and its retrograde social elements in the elimination of the former village settlement form.<sup>8</sup> The enormous urban agglomeration, the "mammoth city" ("megapolis" as it was named by the French geographer Jena Gottman in 1950),<sup>9</sup> served as a prototype of how the urban agglomerations would occupy an area. It appears, however, that there is only one certainty for the forecasts of our century: they will never be fulfilled. The present does not continue simply into the future. The urban expansion of the most developed capitalist countries has stopped, and their urbanization has entered on a new (a third) phase, the phase of deconcentration (deurbanization).<sup>10</sup>

In this phase urban growth will stop, and the number and ratio of the rural population will begin to grow. The first signs of this appeared in Great Britain in the 1950s, and these cropped up more and more in developed capitalist countries in the 1960s, and on the basis of experiences in the 1970s we can call this phase the general rule. Its characteristics are:

- After the growth of cities, expansion will stop (or slow down) in the agglomerations as well as in the main scenes of population increase, with the rural areas located at a distance from the agglomerations. In the United States between 1970 and 1980, the increase in the nonurban population was four times faster than that of the large urban agglomerations; as a result, the ratio of the rural population increased significantly and in 1980 again reached the ratio it had in 1970.<sup>11</sup>

- To a significant extent the population deconcentration was set in motion in part by economic deconcentration. The economic prosperity at the turn of the 1960s and 1970s brought significant rural industrial settlements everywhere, and yet the development of agrarian-industrial integration countered the reduction in agricultural employment.

- The transfer of the population growth into the rural areas does not signify the revival of the old village. The growing, nonurban settlements are not of an agrarian nature; the degree of technical civilization at the place of residence does not lag behind that of the cities. They resemble the "village" to the extent that their dimensions make possible the development of residential communities and a close-to-nature lifestyle. This new rural expansion is selective. It will not resurrect the ghost villages, and it will not stop the process of depopulation everywhere. For varying reasons--for example, a very small and aging population, harsh agricultural-ecological conditions, transportation isolation and so forth--some of the villages will not be able to participate in the new dynamic flow of the villages. Therefore, the area regrouping of the population will continue in the rural area.

There are signs of a new concentration phase, but the signs still do not make it possible to outline clearly a patterned phase. (Such signs are the regeneration of urban centers and, because of increased transportation costs, a decline in the commuting distance to work.) It is certain that the new concentration phase--even if it becomes general--will be much weaker than the first urban explosion. It is not accompanied by a significant decline in the rural population, and it will instead modify the ratio of inhabitants in the suburbs and the city center somewhat in favor of the latter.

Thus in summarizing the international trends, we can state that the whole of the urbanization cycle thus far has been accomplished only by the most developed (capitalist) industrial countries. The peripherally developed industrial countries (including the industrialized European socialist countries) are in a relative deconcentration phase. At present, the most developed countries are characterized by a decline in the urban population ratio, and the most backward countries by an outburst of urban growth.

#### The Hungarian Course

Let us survey how this general settlement development model is being realized in Hungary.

Modern urbanization development in Hungary, as is well known, began late compared with the developed capitalist countries. More important, however, is the characteristic that the urban explosion phase can be divided into two parts and lasted for about a century. The two stages are separated by a longlasting phase of stagnation; the social and economic conditions of the first and second "explosion" are substantially different.

The urban explosion following the Hungarian Industrial Revolution of the 1860s (projected on the present area of the country) was limited only to the Hungarian capital city. The rapidly growing mining or steelmill settlements were unable to become full-fledged cities. A large ratio of the most populous provincial cities was and remained agrarian towns. Neither did the sub-branch nature of the industrial revolution (food industry, mining, certain metallurgical branches) orient industries clearly into cities. After the Industrial Revolution, the scattered small-industry settlements remained tremendously important for decades.

Infrastructural development played a very large role in the Hungarian Industrial Revolution. Between 1870 and 1890, 60 percent of total industry went into basic industry. At the turn of the century the Hungarian capital was a large modern city, far surpassing other cities of Southeastern Europe; a dense railroad network was built; innovations like urban mass-transportation, public lighting, telephones etc. appeared in Hungary hardly later than in Western Europe. The process of the Industrial Revolution, however, was interrupted by World War I, then the consequences of the Trianon Treaty and the conservation of social backwardness. The Hungarian economy was, in effect, stagnant between the two World Wars. Urban growth was limited to the capital city.

The second urban explosion is linked to socialist industrialization in the 1950s and 1960s. The population growth linked thereto appeared much more proportionally in the Hungarian settlement network than in the first urban explosion. As a result of planned development in the 1960s, the provincial and so-called large city network developed. The first phase of the urbanization cycle was concluded in Hungary without the "lower" level of the city network having been effected; also economically the rural sector remained strong, and the urban population did not become a majority in the population as a whole.

The second urban explosion differed in many ways from the first. Industrialization was of much larger dimensions, more modern in structure and accompanied by profound social changes. Initially, an artificial rural crisis was created in part by the fact that the manpower necessary for extensive industrialization was made available at the cost of neglecting the villages. In the 1960s the rapid modernization of agriculture was also begun. It is an unfavorable feature that infrastructural development was always deemphasized (this also inhibited large-scale migration into the cities) and was restricted to the unconditionally necessary minimum. The infrastructural lack appeared as the main source of tensions in the transformation of the population settlement network.



## Relative Decentralization

I believe that in the 1970s the Hungarian population settlement network entered on the second phase of the cycle, on the relative deconcentration phase, which corresponds, I repeat, to the period of intensive economic development.

In the development of the past decade signs of deconcentration can be established both in the locating of productive forces and in the transformation of the population settlement network.

In the deconcentration of productive forces, state guidance was conscious and planned. The program for provincial industrialization and state support for agriculture, which was differentiated by area, exerted an influence in this direction. In 1964, Budapest had 51 percent of the industrial manpower in the country, but in 1982 only 25 percent. It was not only in the provincial cities that industry was located. At present, there is a factory-type site employing more than 10 persons in 1,000 villages--or in every third village. These employ a total of 370,000 persons. If we add to this the workers in the industrial workshops of the producer cooperatives (about 65,000 persons), the number of workers in the industrial sites of villages is about the same as that of the workers in the Budapest industrial sites. This area distribution of industry represents a change of tremendous importance.

The area deconcentration of productive forces was supported by the upward economic valuation of natural resources. This resulted partly in the revival of our coal mining districts, partly--together with the successful modernization of our agriculture--in the increased economic stability of our agrarian areas. The progress is agrarian-industrial integration expanded the employment capability of the food economy sector to such an extent that at the beginning of the 1980s the number of employees increased at agricultural enterprises (while they decreased at industrial enterprises). The rural economy sector also contributed an increasing share to the modest economic growth.

The signs of relative deconcentration can also be shown in the population settlement network. In general, the growth of cities slowed down, particularly in the case of large cities. The circle of small towns expanded, and the population also increased in most of them. The annual gain of Budapest through migration is 3,000 to 5,000 persons, which is insignificant in a large city of 2 million people. In the 1980s the population of the capital city began to decline. Between 1970 and 1980 the net growth for migration made up only 40 percent of urban population growth; the rest came from natural reproduction and administrative declaration of urban status! Thus it is not well-founded to speak of "flocking into the cities"; migration from village to city has changed only to a small degree the area distribution of the population. The idea has been fixed in us that there are many childbirths in the villages and that the surplus population migrates into cities; this has not been true in Hungary for a long time.

The general appearance on the map of the country of urban agglomerations is indicative of the relative deconcentration phase.<sup>12</sup> Budapest entered on this phase decades before our provincial cities: settlements in its agglomeration ring were increasing more rapidly already at the turn of the century than the population within the administrative borders of the city. The decline in the population of the city centers and the transformation of the former industrial cities into tertiary cities took a rather long time. In the 1970s the phenomenon became more general, although the frequent administrative annexation of peripheral communities makes a statistical demonstration of the process difficult.

Finally, the differentiation in the rural settlements is also appropriate to the phase. One group of villages is urbanizing rapidly, maintaining its population and even frequently increasing it. Some of them fulfill a small-town function, and it would be justified to declare them cities, of which there are about 40 such large villages. Other villages are showing dynamism due to their geographical situation (proximity to a city, location along the main transportation-urbanization axes, location in a recreational zone). In our most important agrarian areas, the villages--for the most part well-populated--are slowly losing their populations and stability and uncertainty exist side by side, but if the infrastructural lag can be moderated they have a good chance to follow the main line of development. A large share of the Hungarian villages show signs of decline: the population is rapidly declining, institutions are leaving and the basis of economic survival is proving weak. The Hungarian village was never of one mold--on the basis of the 1930 census, Ferenc Erdei also distinguished various village types<sup>13</sup>--but it was never so differentiated as nowadays. The average data on villages are abstractions that conceal the extremes; it hardly makes sense any more to speak in general of the situation of the Hungarian village. Within the village network the prominence of local centers and population regrouping is in process: this, too, is a patterned element of the relative deconcentration phase.

It appears, therefore, that the transformation of the Hungarian population settlement network is following the global urbanization phases. Of course, unique features can also be shown. Such are: 1. For historical reasons and because of the strength of the large farms in retaining their population, the ratio of the rural population is greater than it was in the developed industrial countries in a similar phase of the cycle. (It would be incorrect to judge this fact as good or bad--this is what came of our historical course. It stems from the relatively low degree of Hungarian urbanization that the further expansion of the small-town network may be one of the characteristics of the deconcentration phase); 2. the significant village and city convergences in income, because of which the level of village income in Hungary is not in general a repellent factor; 3. the decline in the population of the whole country, because of which a population decline is also inevitable in most of the settlements; 4. the low infrastructural level, which makes rural-urban ties more difficult; 5. the large-scale farm, which has more mobile manpower than family farms and also offers a broader workplace choice.

In part, the practice of settlement policy in the 1970s supported the new urbanization phase, and in part regulated against it, it supported it to the extent of promoting the strengthening of the medium-sized town network and the expansion of the small-town network. Hungary's modern city network was complete--something we did not have between the two World Wars or before World War I. Budapest and several of our bourgeois-type cities rose like islands in a sea of agricultural towns and traditional villages and did not link together as a network. The expansion of the city network and the shrinking of the areas that lacked cities also promoted the regional development of productive forces and eased the convergence of living conditions. The living conditions of the rural population are set not only by the level of the basic provisions but also the attainability of urban services--and the latter in particular depends on the density of the small-town network.

#### Contradictions of the 1970s

Anti-regulation was also realized in the following respects:

1. The National Settlement Network Development Concept (OTK) which was enacted into law in 1971 had a particularly strong concentration effect both in principle and application. The OTK is the development plan of the centers: it contained detailed lists of the hierarchical-level residents of a given settlement and of the composition of service institutions. It did not make clear the relationships between the centers and the areas of gravitation; it did not identify the settlement combinations that were being formed; it planned basic provisions a priori in a hierarchical way (although the exact definition of this concept is that it should provide every citizen at his place of residence); it did not include conceptions for about approximately two-thirds of the Hungarian settlements ("other" is the present designation for "basic" settlements). The OTK was widely criticized: in 1981, it was modified to a small extent, and at present a substantial modification is being worked on. The OTK was a long-term development concept and not a collection of medium-term plan directives, but under the megye settlement development policy of the Fourth and especially the Fifth 5-Year Plans the development means were used to justify an increasingly more extreme settlement concentration. The main error of the concept was perhaps that it served as the ideological basis for an excessively concentrated settlement-development policy.<sup>14</sup>

2. The mechanism of settlement development for the council's distribution of finances remained concentrated. Although Council Law III of 1971 significantly increased the independence of local councils, this remained without substance in the absence of worthy internal sources.

If the preponderant part of the economic resources that are created in the settlements is withdrawn, the development chances of a given settlement depend on the distribution of central sources. But in the 1970s these sources were concentrated in the cities to an increasing extent. (In 1968 22 percent of the central sources and in 1980 10 percent went to the villages--where in the latter year 47 percent of the country's population lived.) This extreme situation was caused in significant part not by a

city (in fact, county seat) centered development policy of the megye councils but by sub-branch decisions. Sixty-seven percent of the development fund available to the councils (at the end of the 1970s) had to be devoted to special-purpose project housing construction (centrally prescribed and financed).<sup>15</sup> If we add that public health and public education investments are also centrally determined, it is obvious that the megye councils have available only a very small part of the central development funds for use according to their own judgment. This logically gave incentive to the megye councils to withdraw all the more resources from their villages.

Special-purpose project housing constructions which use two-thirds of the central development funds were realized to an overwhelming extent in the housing settlement form, and thus they were a priori limited to cities--and chiefly to the large cities.

3. In the 1970s, independently of the settlement development policy, important centralization policies were played out in the managing and providing organizations, as a consequence of which most of our settlements remained without any kind of local organization, and retained only a housing residence function. The elimination of the council, the tsz [producer cooperative] center, AFESZ [General Consumer and Marketing Cooperatives] and the school strongly reduced the viability of settlements.

I would like to bring up only several examples on the extent of this centralization process. In 1960, for example, there was an independent council in almost all our villages (3,024 out of 3,210). In the interest of modernizing administration, we started to draw together councils in the 1960s: in 1981 there were only 679 independent and 715 joint councils. Thus there is no council in 1,600 villages, that is, 53 percent of all villages!<sup>16</sup> In the framework of school districting between 1974 and 1977--that is, in 3 years--40 percent of all schools were closed. The number of AFESZs--the general commercial organizations relying on the participation of the village population--declined by 80 percent between 1960 and 1980(!) as a consequence of the concentrations.

In any event, the reasons for the rapid centralization are modernization, economy, and efficiency. Unassailable reasons. It is not even easy to judge their rightness, for the effect exercised on settlement development cannot be the only basis of the judgment. The goal of school districting, for example, is the extension of specialized education, and with this the reduction of regional inequalities in opportunities for continuing education--and if this is well served, we must not feel sorry for the small village schools that were closed. Finally, settlement development is not a goal to itself: it must serve the material-cultural welfare and the social equality of opportunity of our countrymen living in various settlement types. A study of the centralization process, however, gives foundation to the suspicion that unprepared amalgamations which occurred as an end in themselves and as a matter of style, and the difficult-to-undermine obsession that "the bigger the better the more economically and in fact the more socialist" also played a big role. The evidence for this assumption is in the following:

a) the rapidity (for example, in school districting) and lack of preparation with which the amalgamations were carried out and which caused a tremendous number of avoidable problems for broad classes of the population;

b) the lag in achieving the promised economic results of the amalgamations (for example, in the case of agricultural producer cooperatives, where the achievement of the largest farm groups is still below average a decade after the amalgamation campaign);

c) the demand for amalgamations matures for the most part not in the organizations concerned but is initiated from outside;

d) the administrative concentrations were also followed by the concentration of local social organizations working on their own initiative and have nothing to do with the modernization of administration.

As a consequence of the contradictory settlement development as outlined for the 1970s, the convergence of village and city--for a long time an important goal of our policy--also developed in a contradictory way. Social equalization was very significant. Fifty-nine percent of the earning population in the villages belonged to the working class in 1980 (in Budapest, 49 percent) and 16 percent were intellectual workers. Agriculture employed only 30 percent of the village population, and this 30 percent could not be called "peasantry." There are only 675,000 persons who perform physical work in Hungarian agriculture, the majority have acquired some kind of skilled training--39 percent of them expressly nonagricultural--and are working in industrial, delivery and commercial jobs.<sup>17</sup> The equalization in living conditions was not as clear. Equalization could be shown, for example, in the quality indexes of the houses or in indoor plumbing. But average village data, as I have indicated, can be misleading. It is worth noting that in the so-called basic settlements and in villages without a "real" central role, the gap with city indexes has increased in a series of basic facility indexes (for example, electric currency consumption per household and retail trade consumption). The centralization of the institutional network also affected this settlement group unfavorably. The relative gap influenced the lives of about 1.5 million citizens, and a good one-third of them lived in rapidly declining settlements with an accumulation of disadvantages. These dimensions--and the extension of the area--deserve serious attention.

#### Main Directions of Necessary Changes

The contradictions of settlement development in the 1970s at the government level are also well known. The Sixth 5-Year Plan law prescribed a change in the settlement concentration processes (for example, in the requirements for intensifying the capability of population maintenance in suitable villages), and the preparation of a new settlement policy concept is underway. In our view, the main directions of the necessary changes are the following:

1. An increase in the economic independence of the local councils and the strengthening of residential democracy. In part, this requires a change in economic regulation: we have to increase the ratio of financial sources that remain in place. We must make the local councils interested in an expansion of their own financial resources. The main form for doing this would be to have all the economic organizations operating in the settlements participate in settlement development on the basis of unified and logical statutory provisions, in obligatory and not in welfare form, and to the extent that the settlement is used. We must also bring closer together the settlement development burdens of the population among the various settlement types.

An increase in the ratio of local resources will not make central distribution superfluous. Without it, differentiation would assume particularly extreme forms. By and large, local resources must serve to develop and maintain basic provisions and central resources to develop and maintain regional-level developments, which extend to more than one settlement. Central support is necessary to reduce various settlement disadvantages. It would be advisable to allot a part of the central support by way of normatives--for example, according to the size of every settlement or to a prescribed group of backward settlements. Finally, the local councils must decide--with the participation of the population--on the way that local and the allotted money resources will be used in accordance with local needs and requirements.

A political-organizational change would also appear necessary to assure an appropriate area for settlement self-government and settlement interest representation. In my view, therefore, the concentration of the elected bodies and the people's representation must not follow administrative concentrations, for this has a different function than government administration. The present council representation of the co-villages is not adequate. It must be made possible for every settlement again to have its own elected representative body.

2. We must not pursue in the old way the centralization process of the institutional network in the settlements. To do this, central intervention may be necessary (as it was used in stopping the concentration campaigns among the producer cooperatives). It would probably suffice to assure the independence of the organizations and to eliminate unjustified outside intervention. Then presumably centralization would appear only wherever and to the extent actually justified by the development of the organizations.

Justified and effective concentrations may also have unfavorable effects on the settlements. This can be countered by new organizational forms, for which we have already encountered many good initiatives.

3. We must explain and plan more exactly the increased capability of the villages to maintain their populations. The attention of public opinion in the past decade has turned to the lag in the village settlement environment. The lag undoubtedly promotes migration and may be the source of repellent forces and social injustices--even though the infrastructural development of the villages is not enough to increase the capability of maintaining their population.

It is also necessary to increase the capability of the villages for employment less in the quantitative sense, primarily, than in quality range. This can be conceived in such a way that the large agricultural farms--by statute also--will become the general (producer and service) organizations of the village, with an expansion not only in industrial but also in tertiary activity.

The complete social emancipation of the village population is an important element in strengthening the population-maintenance capability of the villages. The village population must believe that migration is not the only path to upward social mobility, that the village is not a settlement form which has survived from the past and remains here only temporarily and that cooperative property and small production are not only forms that are momentarily tolerated but can be suited to a developed socialist society. After opposing efforts and bitter experiences lasting decades, the restoration of the village settlements and the return of their self-confidence will not be an easy or quickly solvable task, but one that is essential and attainable only through deeds.

4. Some of the village settlements cannot meet the requirements of the modern deconcentration phase. The decline and passing of some of the small villages that are becoming depopulated cannot be avoided. These settlements lost their tempo a long time ago, and they were also unable to respond to the challenge of capitalist development. Our well-known small areas that are becoming depopulated--Cserhat, Orseg and so forth--reached their population maximum in the 1870s and 1880s; their decline has lasted through all of the 20th century and has crossed the threshold of turning back. Thus in our country, too, the deconcentration phase is accompanied by concentration phases within the village area. These processes--for example, through the growing density of tanyas (isolated farmhouses) in the region between the Danube and the Tisza--also create new villages, to which up to now we have devoted little attention.

In summary: I believe that as a result of socio-economic development, Hungary is in the relative deconcentration phase of the modern urbanization cycle. Settlement policy--and the research on which it is based--must serve the goal of seeing that the transformation of our settlement network enters on the development course characteristic of this phase with relatively few conflicts and shocks.

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6691

CSO: 2500/296

## HUNGARY

### READER FAULTS CLERGY FOR IGNORING YOUTH

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 29 May 83 p 2

[Text] "Less Than One Percent"

The article, "Less Than One Percent" in your issue of 6 March touched upon a sore point. The essence--and last line--of the article is, "The Hungarian Catholic church attracts .98 percent of youth between the ages of 15 and 25." This is actually less than one percent. Being one of the "addressess," let me make a few related comments, especially about the reasons of this one percent.

Dealing with youth is a subject that is almost entirely missing in seminary training. Those who are familiar with the present form of priest training know that there is very little emphasis on counseling. Future priests are studying philosophy, exegetics, church history, languages, church music, and later expressed theology (dogmatic, moral), law, and numerous other important subjects; instruction in pedagogy and catechecis is extremely limited. There is little or no instruction in sociology, psychology and anthropology. Psychology of adolescents or youth is dealt with only on a few pages of a thin textbook. The question emerges, where and from whom future priests should learn the "rules" of dealing with youth. Priest internship--where the future priest works for a certain period in a parish--is still in its childhood, being not much more than formal.

The closeness of the years at the seminary also separate students in their way of thinking from their secular peers, and they often have the feeling after ordination that they do not speak the same language. This deters many to deal with youth. Many graduate from the seminary without participation in a single class or discussion on youth.

Another reason: youth counseling is done mostly by the older generation of priests in a covert fashion--as a thing that is not allowed or as a hobby of a few. Many bring up the lack of success, failure and faults of certain chaplains. When catechism is mentioned, they mean only a religious instruction for 6-14-year old children, although it is an expressed wish of the Holy Father to include every age group in catechism.

Young priests must often argue with views that youth communities are the sources of sectarianism, contest and opposition to the official church.

There is much need for caring for youth, they themselves want that. I am sure that experienced and willing priests could do much to reduce the number of boys and girls finding themselves on the road to alcoholism, drugs, crime, and suicide. This is a social question.

I believe that the primary goal of priests dealing with youth is not to increase their influence on them--they are just worried about the humanity of the next generation.

The number of rebellious youth is constantly increasing in Hungary, too. To halt this trend is not only a church affair but an affair of the country's future.

9414

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## HUNGARY

### CHURCH PAPER PRAISES KOPECZI'S BOOK ON RAKOCZI

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 5 Jun 83 p 4

[Book review by Gyorgy Holvenyi, "The Ideological Path of the Young Rakoczi"]

[Text] The name of academician Bela Kopeczi is a symbol in 20th century Rakoczi research on both sides of our borders. He turned to the young Ferenc Rakoczi II after volumes and studies presenting important discoveries. The experiences gained during his many years of research may have prompted him to look thoroughly at the prince's years of upbringing.

The ideals and actions of Rakoczi the politician are hardly understandable without the knowledge of his early writings and readings. What was offered to him by his educators? How did they guide his thinking and early experiences? What conclusions did he draw from the critical comparison of ideals and reality?

In his revealing work, the author used original sources exclusively. His direct sources were Rakoczi's Confessions and Memoires. In addition, using his extremely extensive knowledge he diligently analyzed the little prince's readings.

Of course, Rakoczi received his first experiences of the church in his most immediate family environment. Thus his spiritual development was connected with the Catholic religion and ideology.

Using today's terminology, his first grade school teacher was Janos Barkany, a Franciscan father. "Barkany was not only a good Franciscan but was also familiar with world affairs. Let it suffice to mention that it was he whom Ilona Zriny sent in November 1681 as an ambassador to the archbishop of Szelepcsény, among other similar confidential missions." (Bela Kopeczi)

The title of his first textbook is "especially revealing": "Little Book of the Alphabet, Including Some Basic Questions of the Christian Roman Catholic Religion, Published Through the Generous Support of the Honorable Noble Chamber of Szepes of His Highness the Emperor and King for the Religious Education of Innocent Children." This book was given as a gift to the prince by his teaching father with the following dedication:

"Initium sapiente timor Domini. The beginning of wisdom is the fear of God. All of whose blessings is wished by P.R. Janos Barkany to the honorable children, the student Frankie Rakoczi, of the eminent and principal Great Rakoczi Families. May God make his days numerous and may the Earth and Heaven always teach him to be great."

In this "textbook", the alphabet is followed by religious texts. The author used 9 pages to discuss the religious material. Many questions have lost their interest through the elapse of time. But the timeliness of certain concepts is unquestionable. For example, the one on avarice, one of the "deadly sins": "Avarice includes greed, exceptional worldly diligence, inexorability, predating, false arguments, cheating, failure to pay servants, etc."

Professor Kopeczi also deals, of course, with the question what the Jesuit education offered to Rakoczi. His scientific objectivity gives the reader an extremely precise and subtle picture. Nothing is further from him than bias and generalization. Unfortunately, it is well known that, in spite of many attempts, the Jesuits were unsuccessful in establishing a "Hungarian province." It is nice to read about how several Jesuits benevolently and helpfully supported the Rakoczi family and the young Ferenc Rakoczi within the limits of the Austrian province loyal to the Habsburgs.

The young Rakoczi's experiences in the Jesuit college of Neuhaus concerning his personality were two-fold. He noticed how outmoded the "unchangable" Jesuit curriculum was. At the same time, the favorable experiences in his home deterred him from generalizations.

He had good recollections, among others, about the Jesuit fathers Imre Kiss, Janos Ordoby, Istvan Bedits, and Janos Kecskemeti. There were Jesuits even among the confidants of his mother, Ilona Zrinyi. Others were concerned with the children's destiny. "The Jesuits of Sarospatak were also supported by her (Ilona Zrinyi) and the prior, Janos Ordody, was also used in confidential missions in spite of the fact that he was not a friend of the Kurutses... Ordody as well as other Jesuits paid much attention to the child's development. On 22 April 1681, rector of Ungvar, Istvan Bedits, wrote to her that he received her letter, "from which I learned about our two angels and, thanks to God, there is no danger at all; I shall recommend both of them to God both in my prayers and my masses..." (Bela Kopeczi)

It is not a coincidence that, after finishing his studies, Rakoczi chose a Capuchin instead of a Jesuit monk as his confessor. And when he was thinking of supporting communities of monks, he gave financial support for the settling of Trinitarian monks in Sarospatak.

It is well known that as he was fleeing from the Becsujhely prison toward Poland, he found a hiding place among the Piarist monks of Upper Hungary and Podolin. He thanked them by sending them a painting of himself.

As I mentioned, Bela Kopeczi used not only direct sources. He goes through the young Rakoczi's readings from the Bible to "Following Christ" by Tamas

Kempis, volume by volume beginning with the "filotea" by St Francis of Salesia. The literary scientists' annotations and explanations offer new insights even to the learned religious scientists and theologians. He always approaches Rakoczi from a European view, showing important relationships. His book is not only indirectly helpful to Hungarian religious historians but it also may encourage the writing of a hopefully modern history of the 18th century church.

In closing, professor Kopeczi emphasizes Ferenc Rakoczi's morality: Rakoczi judged himself and others on the basis of justice, fairness and high morality. This was the result of his religiousness and even more of the mysticism of devotio moderna...

The teachings of his church played a significant role in the development of Rakoczi's hierarchy of values. From his young years of Todosto, religion was not a tradition to him but a life-supporting force.

Bela Kopeczi's work ("Before a Decision," Akademiai Publishing House, Budapest, 1982) not only supplements our deficient knowledge but also corroborates it through his scientific statements.

9414

CSO: 2500/304

## IDEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN POLISH REFORM REVIEWED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 4, Apr 83 pp 64-68

[Article by Aleksander Lukaszewicz]

[Text] 1. There are numerous causes of the shock through which we lived in 1980, but one of them for certain is that the party achieved a far-reaching formalization of its ideology. Now, socialism must command a lively ideology, quickly regulating changes in production strength and spotting every possible ossification in production relations. In time, ideology detects that which is an element in the struggle with opponents of socialism and the class conflict, and that which is an element in the internal contradictions of socialism and in the conflict over its shape and chances for further development. The 1980 summer shock had to cause and continues to develop a revaluation. I am thinking here, above all, about the revaluation achieved by party members through their dialogue among themselves and with society. A new ideological offensive must be born from these revaluations. At this time, bridge-heads are growing. The condition for success is a constant and diligent recognition of the field for new ideological activity in the future.

There is today no more important strategic undertaking having international implications. Every great ideology is born and becomes universal in struggle. As is known, the socialist ideology was born, exists and will develop in struggle, above all with the bourgeoisie. It is possible to have the impression that now, at the end of the 20th century, the bourgeoisie are more fearful for its future than at any time in its history. This explains a great deal about the behavior, actions and weapons of battle employed by the class opposition. It attempts to place its entire arsenal of battle into motion against socialism, squeezing whatever crack may or could appear in the socialist edifice. Great international capital attempts to procure and direct against socialism every weapon from the arsenal of political, social, economic, psychological, religious and nationalistic conservatism. An aggressive opposition is just as good in its goal as bureaucratic inertia, installed in the lower middle class and understood as prosperity and order. At least these points of support in the battle with socialism are different: the first is an attack from the outside, while the second is an internal arrangement. The goal is essentially the same.

The field for the contemporary ideological battle for socialism in Poland must be clearly identified. Who are the persons in the drama? What are the internal and external sources of support and inspiration? What are the means of battle and coalitions forming from them? What is the social perception of various concepts? Essential is an identification of the object upon which the attack is concentrated. This object is frequently treated ad interim; i.e., with the view that only its destruction will cause the death of the entire system.

The cited here elements in the field of battle and the objects and subjects resulting from them demand deeper analysis. There is still a shortage of analysis of these elements, and the publicists will not be exhausted. The Left-Right dichotomy is a bit general for operating goals. It is necessary to examine more closely the entire large range of strengths, attitudes and their ideological expression, as only then will it be possible to deal with this matter properly.

2. I think that in the course of the next few years, one of the main, if not the primary, areas of ideological conflict will become the problem of reforms. Reforms have two fundamental layers or two fundamental elements that are strongly tied to and dependent on each other: the socioinstitutional element and the economic element. This is deep reform that is an action whose proportions we still do not completely embrace nor shall we quickly embrace. The centers in the ideological battle with socialism know full well the enormity of the action and the worth of dedicating strengths and means so as to impair or in the extreme case to render impossible its realization. Both of these levels--institutional reform and economic reform--are attacked with a different intensity by the Right in this country and in the world.

The Polish reform after all is situated in a large current of changes passing through all of the socialist countries. Especially in the last quarter of the 20th century, after having achieved specific levels of advancement and structural differentiation in a social and economic sense and having achieved a specific level of cultural advancement, these countries are achieving a new level of development and entering a new phase. This is a completely understood phenomenon in the dialectic of history, similar to the fact that the socialist countries, in participating in this process, do not have to adhere to unified solutions. To the contrary, through observance and implementation of general truths, principles and concrete actions, reform can be broadened and made richer in individual countries. This is a result of various levels of development, various degrees of advancement in alterations and other specific, national circumstances within the individual countries.

Attacks on socialism touch both areas: both the common and the different. With respect to Poland, Solidarity advisors were the chief exponents of those attacks. The methods used here are varied, depending upon the publicist's declared support for reform, but in essence it is impairing reform, because it is introduced as reform that loses its strength in collectivization and becomes more technocratic. Another example is the persistent self-delusion that reform has been introduced as a valued plundering of society. Methods used here have reached the level showing activists as not having any meritorious or moral qualifications. Another means of activity is the statement



that Poland in fact cannot get herself out of the crisis, that we are sentenced to withdrawal, regression and a false identity. In the attack on reform, one has taken advantage of the fact that reform also has opponents at various levels in the system, not to mention the inertia and incompetence in the system.

3. The concept of reform reaches deeply into the essence of socialism. But its implementation must confront reefs and deviations that without suitable counteraction could stand in opposition to its socialist principles. The first of these is the contradiction between the particular interest of the unit, group, personnel, enterprise or whatever other part and the general social interest. This contradiction is not new; it has always existed, but its shape and manifestations of course will be different in conditions created by reform. It also delivers other reasons to convince and conciliate working people and to shape the understanding of social interest. The ideological struggle within socialism always has revolved around this issue. But currently, in crisis conditions that sharpen contradictions tied to division of income, the contradiction between the particular and social interest also must appear sharper than then when economic equalization occurs and when it achieves the ability of systematic, steady development.

The second level appearing in the contradictions demanding ideological activity is the problem of efficiency and egalitarianism. Egalitarianism, as an ideology in its own sense to socialism, most frequently, especially in periods as difficult as this crisis period, is an idea that has become vulgarized and introduced in slogans like "equal stomachs" and so on. Such vulgar slogans are contrary to the possibilities, needs and essence of society, just as they are to socialist planning. There is no doubt that it is possible to reconcile understood egalitarianism with socialism as an equal opportunity and access to social welfare for those who cannot participate in the normal social process because of age, state of health or other circumstances. But such adopted egalitarianism by itself cannot resolve the contradictions between itself and efficiency.

Reform strives to set into motion the strong stimulants of unitary and group initiative and innovation that must pull with them highly differentiated salaries and income levels. The fundamental problem creates this difference and also limits it. On the one hand, it is easy to suppress its nonessential level, but on the other hand, this easiness breaks out the difference beyond sensible and ideologically correct and socially justifiable frameworks. Each contraction will exist and require constant observation and constant ideological action in processes, in which they are not only born but also can be resolved.

The third level or means of manifesting contradictions through reform, and which must be constantly resolved (in large measure through the help of ideological tools), will be attempts to weaken the central cells of strategy and central planning. Reform attempts--it has more or less succeeded up to now because the issue first must be tried and then the attempt perfected--to strengthen the central cells shaping the strategy of socioeconomic development and to take advantage of central planning for this purpose. At the same time,

reform admits far-reaching decision-making autonomy by the basic cells--enterprises and territorial units. Undoubtedly, union of the strong, central, strategic disposition based upon the central plan with autonomy at the given moment is and will remain a difficult problem, adding to conflict and contradictions that will need to be constantly resolved. Excessive inclination to one side or another could destroy the entire reform action. In this regard, there are wide areas for ideological work. One cannot wait on this issue; it is alive, as it has always been. Reform poses new questions and brings in new constructs, new forms, new institutions, new groupings and new arrangements of social strengths.

The fourth issue tied to the above is primitively-understood egalitarianism in the arena of social services. If reform is to be universally and consequently realized, it must introduce economic activity, economic rationalization and a bill for costs to the arena of social services because it is well known that this arena is financed from the budget and only a portion of its services has a payable characteristic. For this reason, the problem is particularly complicated and sensitive, especially since it is not known whether today's period of payments should be maintained or broadened. It is certain that this arena must grow, which guarantees the maintenance of society on the line of progress. A threatening phenomenon would be a division of services in this arena, both contrary to an elitist system and primitive egalitarianism. Thus, wide areas for ideological activity are opened.

In support of these reflections, here are a few conclusions that should be taken into consideration in the discussion on the outline of long-range strategy in ideological activity.

The first issue is concerned with whether in the entire principled criticism regarding the functions and contents of ideology in the present socialist history of Poland to save or to extract that which is constant and demand continuation according to principles. Such an understood continuation should be an important element of strategy in the area of ideology.

The second issue should be examined in the context of the dilemma felt in all of contemporary civilization, in this case socialist civilization. This is a dilemma called in short "to have or to be;" to procure more and more consumer goods, to orient the pattern of life into ever greater and more differentiated consumption or to try to achieve full human life for which goods or material service are important as instruments but do not become the essence, sense or primary goal. This issue has been discussed for a long time; in the socialist countries, it has appeared especially under the slogans of socialist models or socialist lifestyle. Neither in Poland nor in the world economy in the next several years will conditions be such to repeat at the same level of past years the high rate of economic growth. Natural barriers to this growth have appeared and become strong; thus, this stronger accentuation should be based especially on contents and patterns of life that are not tied exclusively to the consumption of material goods. One of the tasks of ideological-educational activity also should become the removal of the consequences of demonstrations of western lifestyle in the socialist countries.

Tied closely to this issue is the deepening of friendly relations with the socialist countries. Needed here are live and wide contacts and closer, mutual recognition and deeper, mutual understanding of experiences and aspirations, similarities and dissimilarities. Needed is the understanding that only versatile cooperation, honesty and joint effort are able to protect the socialist economy from difficulties and breakdowns. Only as a partnership of the socialist countries can we be a significant strength in the international market and can we efficiently act on the socioeconomic fates of the world. I thus conclude that economic reform should be interpreted and realized as a team of actions designed to strengthen the Polish economy and to increase its efficiency and earnings, as an integral part of the international system of the socialist economy and thus in close cooperation with the CEMA countries and in coordination of plans and in broad cooperation.

9807

CSO: 2600/891

POLAND

COMMENTATOR LINKS 'ANTI-POLISH CAMPAIGN' WITH PAPAL VISIT

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 May 83 p 1

[Article by Daniel Lulinski: "What Irritates the Enemies of Poland"]

[Text] The attacks on our country continuing for a long time by the imperialistic propaganda centers, from Washington to Munich, got stronger once more. Even the official governmental circles of some NATO countries found it appropriate to join the artificial heating up of the "Polish question." It may be that they have illusions to divert in this way the attention of their own citizens from unpleasant incidents and inflammatory social problems reflected in the past days by barricades around parliament and bloodstained street clashes on the Seine, or the explosions of bombs in Northern Ireland. Not to mention the brutal everyday interference of the U.S. Administration in the internal affairs of many Latin American countries about which President Reagan does not speak tearfully because of a "violation of human rights."

The initiators of the increased propaganda campaign are not concerned with the welfare of Poland but rather with exciting in our country bitter impulses that could be channelled in make-believe "spontaneous" activities hitting at the internal and economic stabilization of Poland. It is also no accident that the new anti-Polish propagandistic activities are coincident in time with the progress we have noticed and create nearly every day, on the way of national reconciliation and consolidation of the stability of our motherland, although we do not deny that there are still many problems and difficulties on this way.

One of the motives for heating up the "Polish boiler" considered to be it by the U.S. and NATO strategists is that they are becoming aware of the failure of plans to bring Poland to the knees by means of sanctions and ordinary blackmail. The plans to isolate Poland in the international arena and to surround her with a kind of quarantine are failing.

The essential premise for intensifying in May the aggravated campaign against Poland in the international forum and aimed at our "domestic market" is, of course, the nearing date of the visit of John Paul II to his homeland. General Wojciech Jaruzelski, speaking during the First Congress of the

Patriotic Council for National Rebirth about the nearing papal pilgrimage stated: "We expect that this visit will provide for reconciliation and understanding so vitally needed today by our nation. We hope also that the moral values brought by this visit shall be of a good service to the true interest of Poland."

But there are influential forces in the West that are irritated by such a perspective of the pope's pilgrimage to Poland. It does not match the scenario of confrontation between East and West created by imperialistic and militaristic circles. They need an excuse for generating tensions between East and West and an alibi for disposing by the end of 1983 new U.S. nuclear missiles in West Europe to be aimed also at Polish towns.

No reasonably-thinking Pole can miss that the campaign against Poland is inspired and the internal situation in our country embittered by the same forces that are playing with the possibility of a "limited nuclear war in Europe" and preach the necessity to change the existing territorial and political order in Europe and, thus, to revise the border on the Oder and Lusatian Neisse. Only an innocent can say he does not see that the so-called underground trying to prolong the time of coming out from the crisis by Poland is not a "V column" of Poland's enemies.

The political enemies of Poland who would like to transform our country into a cold war practice range inside the socialistic community, are looking to fuel our internal weaknesses. From all the Polish-language programs transmitted by western broadcasting stations they are playing on the emotions, lack of maturity and ordinary ignorance of a party of young citizens, mainly some schoolboys and students in big-city centers. The spreading of all kinds of accusations, gossip and half-truths are of service not only to Radio Free Europe but also to other western centers for exciting emotions. It has to serve, very clearly, to destabilize the situation in Poland and undermine the premises that have to allow for the final abolition of martial law.

Western propaganda centers are particularly anxious to aggravate the situation after the First Congress of PRON and during the preparations for John Paul II's pilgrimage. It makes them nervous that the pope's visit is prepared jointly by the authorities and the Church, which assumed determined obligations in order to ensure a successful course of the visit. This fact can not be undermined by sporadic attempts to use the sites of religious worship in a spirit that does not aim at creating the climate for a calm and dignified course of this visit.

We know the meaning of the worries of some western capitals about Poland. It is dictated by egoistic and confrontational calculations of the imperialistic block, where a "good Poland" means a country that could be used for aggravating the situation between East and West and for undermining the unity of the socialistic community.

No problems or questions exist that could not be solved by Poles in the interest of their nation and the state. This is the aim of the general political line of the Polish United Workers Party and practical activities of the government.

12376

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COLUMNIST DEFENDS GLEMP, POLICIES OF EPISCOPATE

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 24, 11 Jun 83 pp 1, 5

[Article by Daniel Passent: "Shooting Birds With Grenades"]

[Text] I received a very precious gift from the Paris monthly KULTURA: I have been numbered among "Jaruzelski extremists," next to such people as Jan Szczepanski, Kozniowski, Kaluzynski and Toeplitz. It is elegantly written that we are "the group of the uprooted" who among "shit and blood" fight for "liberalism in spite of everything." This kick to the left shin came just in time, restored for me proper proportions as my right shin had been swollen from being bitten by the country's cavalry hussars.

However, KULTURA is not concerned about me but about something considerably more serious: about dissatisfaction of the opposition with the forthcoming visit of the pope, and also with the Polish episcopate policy. I want to occupy the attention of the readers with this today and I am not hurling back the stones at gentlemen from KULTURA but only a piece of bread because the moment of mercy is approaching.

John Paul II arrives in his country during the period when the Polish Church is brutally attacked not by the atheist government but by the believers of the political opposition, particularly by its most radical, intransigent circles both in the underground and abroad. The episcopate headed by Primate Glemp gets a beating for having conversations with the government and because the Church does not incite to conspire in hiding, to rebel, to sabotage, or to encourage terrorism regardless of consequences. The pope is also being warned. And here are few examples of this criticism.

As the daily INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE informs (24 May), Bohdan Cywinski, a historian and Catholic writer, an ex-deputy editor-in-chief of the WEEKLY SOLIDARITY, presently at a Swiss university, questioned at a conference in Vienna "the wisdom of looking for a modus vivendi between the Church and the Soviet-backed Polish regime. The possibility of an honest dialogue does not exist," he added, "and to hold otherwise is false. The situation is sufficiently dramatic without adding any lies," he said. He warned that John

Paul will lose the trust of the nation if he puts his signature to a dialogue which leads nowhere. Suggesting that rank-and-file Polish priests are at odds with Cardinal Glemp, the primate of Poland who leads the dialogue with the authorities, Mr Cywinski said that the "behavior of 6,000 priests is more important than the announcements on the part of the episcopate. Mr Cywinski," the U.S. journalist continues, "was one of many speakers who criticized Cardinal Glemp indirectly at meetings or more acutely in conversations, for being too cautious and accommodating in his relations with the regime."

A front-page article appeared in the newest May issue of Paris KULTURA, in which the pope's visit is directly questioned: "The political game connected with John Paul II's visit to Poland requires us, for example, to analyze four variants. The pope comes to Poland on our terms, we again act like free people in a free country. The pope goes on a pilgrimage on Red terms. The pope does not come to Poland on our terms: the authorities retreat in the last moment. The pope does not come on Red terms--he rejects the WRON framework of his visit." And further on in the same style and spirit: "The Polish Church--this has to be finally said aloud and authoritatively--has no place for maneuver in this matter, no chances for social mediation. It can only give way to the Reds, that is, it can pacify its own society as the price of the visit or it can accompany that society in all of its reflexes of rebellion, because they possess that very same sovereign right as the right of John Paul II to go to Jasna Gora on a pilgrimage. If we continue to intensify demonstrations of our will for independence until the time of pope's arrival, the communists will be left only with either allowing the visit on our terms or not allowing it--also on our terms. In either of these variants, society (and Church) preserve its subjectivity."

The most brutal attack and moreover a personal attack on Cardinal Glemp appeared earlier in that very same KULTURA (in January 1983). First, the church was burdened with sharing the responsibility for failure of the organizers of the general strike in November of last year: "The cause of the second defeat has its very important sources in the Polish Church. I do not accuse anybody, including Primate Glemp, of being against the nation, of being against democracy, on betting on collaboration. Nevertheless it happened that the Church accomplished something which it should not have and particularly not at that specific moment. This cannot be undone. And moreover the Church, which pronounces its extrasecular mission, betrayed this principle and started some negotiations or, to say it more forcibly, some bargaining in the name of the society, although--let us say this with emphasis--it did not get such a secular--political mandate from society (...) And now a very bad thing happened: mutual trust between the Church and Poles has become seriously eroded and this is a greater success of PZPR than the spectacular but devoid of any real meaning and consequence, victory over Solidarity on 10 November."

The author of KULTURA warns those who "having achieved high positions in the episcopate believe that by that they received charisma of sainthood and wisdom. It is not so and Primate Glemp should remember it, the more so in that he came as a successor to a personality which greatly exceeded his own, and he thus must muster more humility than anybody else in the Polish Church."

(Nota bene, the author calls on the primate to show humility while he himself offends the head of the Polish Church without any embarrassment). Other KULTURA's attempts to discredit the primate by means of personal accusations of such a low nature that they do not deserve to be cited.

"And here we come to an essential question: the question of a secret conciliatory agreement which was reached between the Polish Church and the PZPR. Let us not pretend: the Church risked its own authority and all its trump cards: the question of pope's visit (...)." ✓

As we remember, the Paris KULTURA has not started attacking the Polish Church just today, it has done so at least starting with the memorable sermon of Cardinal Wyszyński of 26 August 1980 in Jasna Góra which was then broadcasted in parts on TV. The attacks cited above were penned by authors (Messrs Poleski and Klemski) who claim to be activists of the opposition at home. Since these articles are popularized on the air by the U.S. broadcasting station in Munich, we are dealing with a not insignificant political event. Let us have a closer look at the argumentation and let us ask what it means and what it attests to?

Mr Cywinski states that the possibility of a dialogue and modus vivendi between the Church and the authorities does not exist. If it is so, then by what miracle is the visit to come about, how come there are masses on the radio, new sacred objects and far-reaching consequences and cooperation not only in the momentous and elevating moment which is the papal visit, but also in the times of collapse when there was a deadly danger for individuals and the state was hanging by a thread?

It did not come about from a secret conciliatory agreement but from the dialogue which will last longer than 16 June. Positive relations of state and Church should constitute an essential element of a normal situation in our country also after John Paul II's visit.

The critics, whom we used to call extremists, do not understand that what leads to the necessity of a dialogue is the feeling of responsibility on the part of the government and the episcopate, responsibility for the life of citizens, for the fate of the nation and the state. This dialogue may not be liked and it has its adversaries (not only among the ones mentioned above) but its absence would be a real absence of the sense of responsibility, choosing an all-out confrontation at any price caused either by the deepening internal hesitations of millions of Catholic citizens of socialist Poland tearing them apart either to the Left or to the Right. This dialogue was started during the times of Primate Wyszyński in a considerably more difficult period for the Church, but about this in a moment.

The episcopate acted in such a way that John Paul II's visit would take place, and not for this reason only it distanced itself from disturbances which could mess it all up. But, as can be seen from the cited articles, there are forces which intended not to allow the visit to happen and wrote about "our terms" as if they could set those terms. But such or other costs of the visit itself are not as important as the fact itself that this visit is the



deep desire of Poles--both those who greet in the person of the pope their own spiritual father as well as those who want to greet in him an outstanding representative of our nation whose authority can in these difficult times help the cause of peace. When the religious posture coincides with patriotic and civic satisfaction, only alienated people can deplore it.

The second issue is the question of assigning guilt to Church for the opposition's defeat on 13 December 1981, and on 11 November 1982. To look truth in the eye means to say that the fault for the defeat is the opposition's itself and the burdening the episcopate with it is sadly evading the facts. The victory of the opposition was simply impossible for reasons which are obvious to the entire world, except for people most blindly impassioned, and unfortunately among them belong President Reagan and his programmatic apparatus.

For many people this was obvious already before martial law, but few listened to them. Had the Church joined the brawl before or after 13 December the result would have been the same, only the price in blood would have been much higher. In vain the short-sighted gentlemen attempt to place the blame on the more far-sighted leadership of the clergy. Textbooks of history, strategy and geography are generally accessible both in Poland and in Paris and Vatican. There does not, then, exist a secret agreement between the Church and the PZPR but only publicly known reasons for which both sides avoided or avoid mutual confrontation, aware that it would not be advantageous either for the society or for the Polish state. Disappointed in defeat, the authors of KULTURA demand to deprive the Church of any possibility of action besides a clearly liturgical sphere. "... We as the Polish nation," writes Mr Klempski, "should liberate our Church from secular duties, taking over on our shoulders only those tasks... Let the Church negotiate our souls and not our bodies."

It is surprising that a democrat and a partisan of pluralism proposes to cut off from social life the authority for which many Poles have trust. The appearances of democracy are rejected very quickly when they are inconvenient. Moreover, an unreal and suicidal postulate is set forth. The Church should be and is separated from the state although contacts, conversations and cooperation in secular matters are unavoidable, if only in the matter of youth upbringing. Moreover, there are moments in the life of the nation when every authority is needed which can defend truth and justice and also protect the country from tragedy. When dreaming about the confrontation which the editors of KULTURA would watch from Paris, they want to hurl Polish youth on the stake and then they hold it against the episcopate that it does not want to play with matches.

In this context an accusation is made against the primate that he betrayed the lessons and experiences of his predecessors. First of all, it is necessary to remind that the image of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński which they employ comes from a different epoch, when Church-state relations were worse by far, and there could be no question of any dialogue. It was in May 1953 that the cardinal wrote his famous letter for the Episcopate Conference which went down in history under the name of "Non possumus," and which contained many

complaints against state authorities. Today is a different epoch and many postulates made then became reconciled not by confrontations but by flexible tactics which were a synthesis of decisiveness and flexibility. Today the freedoms and thus the duties of the Church towards the country are by far greater, a quarter of a century passed during which Primate Wyszynski himself went through an evident evolution.

Let the Catholic expert on the problem, Andrzej Micewski, have occasion to speak. In spring 1981 he wrote: "It is impossible not to see a certain evolution in Cardinal Wyszynski's line in the last years. The primate's dissatisfaction with voices critical of Polish uprisings for independence of the 19th century was known. In the last years the realistic trend seems to have gotten the upper hand in the primate's mind. Cardinal Wyszynski realized how much freedom gained by the nation by struggle could be lost; he wishes that Polish questions necessarily be taken care of by the Poles themselves. And in the face of the continuing struggle of the two blocs of differing politics and regimes, it is not at all obvious that this will be the case (...). And that's why in social behavior the virtue of being prudent is advanced to the fore. Those who hastily ascribe to the Church excessive compliance in Poland are erring. The episcopate," Micewski wrote, "had a very subtle and well-weighted line. It tried to be independent also in relation to the political opposition." And further on: "To be guided by the virtue of being prudent which, as we know, is the leading virtue in the Catholic tradition, arouses critical voices of people who think more radically, are less well-informed and do not know the intentions of the Church. Of course, we should not exclude the possibility of mistakes in incidental matters."

Let us go over to the actions and pronouncements of Stefan Wyszynski himself. Those who attempt to contrast this person with the present primate forget that in 1950 "the first conciliatory agreement in history between the Catholic episcopate and the communist government" was signed. As Micewski writes, this was a document to which the Church could refer also in moments of conflict.

This is not the time or place, or am I an author competent enough to sum up a work so monumental as Cardinal Wyszynski's line of work. Let us recollect, however, that when the West demanded of the primate more inflammatory pronouncements he said on 24 December 1980: "There are some centers which are annoyed at this (i.e. the rebirth of Poland and the Church) and that is why they raised a great alarm on the subject of current situation in Poland. It is too bad that these statements are not written in Polish but in French and German. And this is where the advice came from: 'Tell everything that you know.' But the hour has not yet come to tell everything that we know. And even if we did tell, we do not know whether we would be believed. Or whether it would be a serious and a prudent thing to do." In January 1981, Stefan Wyszynski said: "How often we hear a sentence: 'It is beautiful and an honorable thing to die for the fatherland.' However it is at times more difficult to live for the fatherland. It is possible in a heroic gesture to give one's life in the battlefield, but that lasts only for a short time. At times it is more heroic to live (...)." Cardinal Wyszynski when he called on us all to work, and without work the country cannot exist, and called on

Solidarity to concentrate on union matters, warned the unionists: "I wish with all my heart for you to act patiently. We cannot stage a brawl in Poland.... There must be very serious motives to make the decision to immobilize the entire national, state and political economy and also the family, individual and personal life. Always arrange things in such a manner as to preserve the proportion between the postulate, the demand and the means which will be used. So that you do not shoot birds with grenades."

When reading these statements (surely chosen only one-sidedly because in the principal sphere the primate was against a state which assumes materialistic philosophy and a one-party system) there is no doubt who betrayed this advice: light-hearted amateurs of political adventure, whose thoughtlessness and lack of imagination could lead to unforeseeable catastrophe had not General Jaruzelski stopped them. And for this they have a grudge today.

9971

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HEAD OF POLISH EVANGELICAL CHURCH INTERVIEWED

Bonn RHEINISCHER MERKUR/CHRIST UND WELT in German No 22, 3 Jun 83 p 20

[Interview with Poland's Evangelical-Lutheran Bishop Janusz Narzynski by Ulrich Stockmann, date and place not specified: "No Contacts With 'Solidarity'"]

[Text] The People's Republic of Poland, today under communist rule, is considered a Catholic country. In any case, more than 90 percent of the population are of that faith. However, there are also another 18 minority religious communities of various sizes.

The Lutheran Church, of the Augsburg denomination, has about 90,000 members in Poland today, with 124 parishes and more than 200 assembly halls. The 107 ministers service more than 360 churches and chapels in the country; in addition there are 40 deaconesses and 10 female religious instructors. Since 1975 the country's Lutheran bishop has been a native of Warsaw, who has studied not only at the evangelical-theological faculty of the Polish capital, but also in Goettingen: 55 year old Janusz Narzynski.

[Question] Your Excellency, how do you see the present situation of the evangelical church in Poland?

[Answer] We constitute a diaspora between a catholic church, a great catholic church, and socialism. This places some demands upon our church. To be able to survive, we must above all things be a missionary, an evangelical church. (Forgive my bad German). Those are the main objectives which, in the daily life of our church, we seek to accomplish and are accomplishing. The present situation, if I may say so, is that we are not suffering from any restrictions on the part of the state.

[Question] No censorship?

[Answer] No censorship. Well--normal censorship, as far as for instance our publications are concerned. But otherwise, no censorship. We have an extensive catechism service, in which we conduct religious instruction and confirmation classes--they are not subject to censorship. We can pass

on instructional materials to the children without any kind of restrictions or censorship. On the other hand, I have spoken about the catholic church. It should be noted that since the election of the Pope the catholics have experienced a strong resurrection of the awareness of their faith; but I might say that there is a reaction in our ranks also. It has once again become apparent that people are aware of their religious identity.

[Question] But doesn't the government treat your group as a second-class religion?

[Answer] We must be realistic in looking at things. The numerical relationships play a role in this--for all the equality. In actual practice, the concerns of the catholic church do receive priority. But we cannot complain of being discriminated against. On the contrary. As I have indicated before: we not only have opportunities for surviving, but also opportunities for further development.

[Question] Your Excellency, does the protestant minority play any kind of role in public life? After all, more than 90 percent of the population is catholic.

[Answer] This is not an easy question to answer. To answer it, I must go back to the past. The Lutherans have made a considerable contribution to Polish culture, to Polish public life. That was in the past. I am thinking about the 16th century and more recent times. Despite the fact that we are a minority, we are entitled to play a role in public life. We take part in it. In this connection, I am thinking about charity work. Representatives of our church are members of various social organizations. Representatives of our church are involved in various church organizations and churches in other countries. As far as our existence and our situation are concerned, we have no complexes.

[Question] Has there been any change in the evangelical church in Poland since the declaration of martial law?

[Answer] I can say it in one word: no. I would say in fact that church life has become more intensive. The shock which the people experienced on 13 December 1981 put us in a situation in which we felt that we must get even closer to the people, because they need our closeness. We even increased the number of our religious services. Also, contacts with churches in other countries have increased.

[Question] Do you have contacts with 'Solidarity' like the catholic church?

[Answer] No, we have no contacts, no direct contacts.

[Question] Are there any protestant delegates in the parliament of the People's Republic of Poland?

[Answer] No. We do not have any Christian parties, such as you have them in the GDR and the FRG. All we have are people who come from Protestant homes and who sit in parliament.

[Question] There are no church taxes here in Poland, such as we have them. What financial support does the evangelical church in Poland have?

[Answer] We have registered members. Adult members who are wage earners participate in bearing the burden of keeping the church alive. Our members pledge themselves for voluntary contributions. They amount to one percent of their salaries. We go by that rule, and this constitutes the support of our church. At the moment we do not have any financial worries.

[Question] Do you have a church newspaper, and are there broadcasts of services, as there used to be for the catholic church?

[Answer] We have our own church newspaper, the HERALD, published every 2 weeks in 12,000 copies. We have our own publishing house which prints books, monographs and other printed matter. Since last Easter we also have a broadcast of our services, part of the broadcast of the Union of the Polish Ecumenical Council. Every other week one of the council's member churches broadcasts its services. We get four broadcasts per year; the high holidays Easter, Christmas, and Feast of the Reformation.

[Question] Is a protestant Christian permitted to marry a catholic in Poland?

[Answer] Yes, as far as we are concerned--I mean, as far as the evangelical church is concerned. Obviously, it is preferable for a protestant to marry another protestant; then there are no problems. But these difficulties arise very frequently. The marriage of a catholic man to a protestant woman is not simple at all. In those cases the catholic church is not flexible at all. In mixed marriages the catholic side exacts the obligation for any children to be brought up in the faith of the catholic church.

[Question] Last Sunday I visited several churches in the city, protestant churches, and I noted that they were as well filled as they are in our country only at Christmas time. What is the West doing wrong that results in our churches being empty?

[Answer] True, we have no complaints as far as attendance goes. During the last 3 years it has in fact increased. That too is a new phenomenon. How did this come about, and what are the churches doing wrong? I don't wish to give the Western churches any advice, and you cannot expect that of me. I can only talk about ourselves. In any case, we want to be a missionary and evangelizing church. We are trying to reach people. I don't believe this constitutes advice; sometimes there isn't enough closeness.

[Question] Your Excellency, is it possible that many people here regard the church as being part of the opposition?

[Answer] Well, that is possible. There is such a thing as a desire for religious transcendency. But there is also something like a desire for national transcendency. I cannot apply this to our church. Our members do not regard the church as a place of opposition. They regard the church as the church.

[Question] How would you describe the new primate of the catholic church in Poland, Cardinal Glemp?

[Answer] As you know, a Christian must not judge another Christian. I would therefore refrain from doing so. But my personal impression is that he is a very friendly, open human being. That is how I saw him in our meetings.

[Question] Could you be a bit more specific in this; how for instance is he different from his predecessor, Cardinal Wyszynski?

[Answer] I didn't know Cardinal Wyszynski any better. But if I...

[Question] Even though you lived next door?

[Answer] Yes, even though I'm a neighbor. You are not supposed to say anything bad about neighbors either. I would put it this way: in Cardinal Wyszynski, the church politician, the prince of the church, seemed to have the upper hand. Cardinal Glemp's personality is more that of a pastor, a spiritual leader.

[Question] Let's go back to the evangelical church. Are there still instances of evangelical churches being occupied by catholics?

[Answer] No longer. That happened in the past. I don't want to talk about this in detail, because negotiations are going on presently for rental of six churches. Some cases are still pending in which churches were occupied by force; they still need to be resolved. More recently, a few days ago, I learned that a cemetery had been attacked. Things such as that happen too.

[Question] What is the reason for this? Is the catholic church short of churches while the evangelical church has too many?

[Answer] I wouldn't put it that way, because churches which are empty because of population shifts are available for rent or for sale. But sometimes efforts are made to bypass those steps.

[Question] Are there any interdenominational churches in Poland?

[Answer] No, we don't have any. And I don't believe that it would work here.

[Question] What specific cooperation exists between the catholic and the evangelical church?

[Answer] I will start to answer this with the different forms of dialogue. We have a joint commission, the Policy Ecumenical Council, in which we actively participate. We conduct discussions there; for instance, we had a discussion about baptism. Other discussions concern marriage. This topic is still in its early stages. Practical cooperation took place especially during the last few months, especially in the area of charitable work. The help we have received most recently has brought us closer together.

[Question] Would you consider this rank and file ecumenicity in the religious communities, or are there still other elements?

[Answer] I would not consider this rank and file ecumenicity. There are different levels. There is the ecumenicity of the professional ecumenicians; there is ecumenicity at the level of the leadership of the churches and--if I may say so--a rank and file ecumenicity. But the rank and file is, in our case, least of all touched by ecumenicity. President Held of the foreign office of the Evangelical Church of Germany has written an article entitled "The Principle of Hope." I would like to use this title to apply to our ecumenical relationships.

[Question] Has the ecumenical situation changed for the better or for the worse since there has been a Polish Pope? Perhaps it has raised the catholic's consciousness even more than had been the case previously?

[Answer] Yes, you might say that. You have the correct impression of that situation. I should also add that the excesses we talked about took place after the Pope's election. There is no doubt that this election raised the atmosphere of triumph even higher. On the other hand, I must say that there are some silver linings too. As for instance when we met with Cardinal Wyszynski.

[Question] But the word "ecumenicity" was not part of his vocabulary?

[Answer] True, but what was new was the fact that we participated in Wyszynski's funeral. We also had a meeting on the occasion of Cardinal Primate Glemp's inauguration. He invited us; he was a guest of the Polish Ecumenical Council. He also received us with the delegation of the Lutheran World League. All those things are good signs.

[Question] But Glemp hasn't visited this house yet, even though he lives next door?

[Answer] No. He visited us when the negotiations started about the occupied churches. But at that time he was still Bishop of Ermeland.

[Question] Were you invited when the Pope visited Poland?



[Answer] No. We were invited in a body, as the Polish ecumenicity, as the churches which constitute the Polish Ecumenical Council. But we saw the Pope only from afar. I personally attended his coronation in Rome as a member of the delegation of the Lutheran World League.

[Question] Your Excellency, how did you and your fellow-citizens feel about recent assistance from Germans? From a people which in the past had done you such immeasurable harm?

[Answer] I must say frankly that the extent of help from the FRG was a surprise to us and that its size was totally unexpected. If you will permit me, I would like to take this opportunity of expressing our heartfelt thanks--to all those who thought of us and who continue thinking of us. I believe that these thoughts and those gifts of love have gone a long way toward reconciliation. I do want to say this quite frankly.

9273

CSO: 3620/380

## OPINION RESEARCH CENTER ANNOUNCES RESULTS OF SURVEY

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27 May 83 p 5

[Article by B. Dr.]

[Text] Yesterday in Warsaw Col Prof Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, director, Public Opinion Research Center [CBOŚ] met with reporters. The meeting was attended by Jerzy Urban, government spokesman. The task of the center is to provide the government with a continuous source of information about population's views about the tasks undertaken and executed by the government.

In his opening statement Col Kwiatkowski emphasized that the center is in the starting stage and its future shape will be formed by its activities in the future. When talking about the service character of the center both with regard to the government and the population Col Kwiatkowski stressed the scholarly character of its studies as well as honesty, and methodological reliability. The center director noted the intention of studying the public opinion not only by means of traditional sociological methods. We have decided to penetrate the social views by all possible means, including the use of those sources, which reflect it partially or indirectly, stated Col Kwiatkowski.

One such form of gaging public opinion is the establishment of a special telephone number (21-34-34, from 9 am until 7 pm) as well as mail coming into the center (2a Zurawia Street) from ordinary citizens. There is also a department of press analyses. Telephone calls from the citizens are usually of critical nature and concern economic matters, attitude toward the authorities, views about propaganda, and difficult living conditions of pensioners and retired persons. Responding to request by reporters to illustrate criticisms of propaganda, the center director stated that it is being treated as an element of the system of power and it is criticized mainly for the use of one-sided arguments, simplification of problems discussed, and its instruction-type and dogmatic tone. The critics signal its ineffectiveness. With regard to propaganda, telephone remarks are offered to the center mainly by intelligentsia circles. Most critical voices concern TV propaganda, whose reach is the broadest.

So much with regard to examples illustrating nontraditional methods of study of the public opinion by the center.

With regard to sociological studies, the center, established by the government, is still at the starting point. The first of the planned for this year research studies, "The Views of Wages by the Workers," has just been completed. In the five largest Warsaw enterprises--Passenger Car Factory FSO, "Warszawa" Foundry, "Ursus," Warynski, and Roza Luksemburg--1100 workers, employed directly and indirectly in production were selected for interviews. All had similar education, most were skilled workers, they were representative with regard to age and seniority, but differing in pay (the range was 10-18,000 zlotys). Of these 52 percent filled out the questionnaires and returned them. The questionnaires were anonymous and their return was not obligatory.

The results of the questionnaire have confirmed the common knowledge about our system of remuneration. Nearly all respondents called it bad, because it does not reward good and efficient work, qualifications, and skills. Criticism was directed against the pay scale with its norms, levels, and "forks," which make even piecework unappealing. The bonus system got negative marks as well as the too low basic pay, built up by too numerous supplements, and net result of which is that many employees do not know what they are specifically paid for.

Col Kwiatkowski stated: "In my opinion more important than the topic of wages is how much we can learn about the views of the working class from just this one narrow study. The workers believe that it is they who are the producers of the national product, and that without their work there is no way out of the crisis. They suggest solutions, which would increase the work effectiveness, such as rewarding skills, qualifications, and good organization."

Asked what groups ought to be given a raise if the enterprise got the necessary funds, more than 68 percent of respondents suggested the efficient workers. As many as 60 percent of respondents stated that they could achieve better results in their work were it not for the poor organization as well as lack of raw materials, other supplies, and tools. Nearly 68 percent of respondents spoke in favor of closing enterprises, which bring no profit.

The results of the poll show that the workers expect a proper and objective evaluation of their work. More than 92 percent of respondents believe that performance evaluations ought to be decided by the enterprises themselves and directly given (according to 51 percent of respondents) by the worker's immediate supervisor such as a foreman or a group leader preferably in consultation with the self-government.

As the main sins of our economy the respondents listed lack of independence on the part of the enterprises, too much bureaucracy, outdated norms and regulations, and improper legal solutions, including the Labor Law.

More than 77 percent rejected a wage freeze and 70 percent rejected egalitarian equalization of wages as solutions to overcome the crisis. The respondents declared that they are ready to eliminate from their ranks poor performing employees with the exception of those who are in difficult material or family situation.

Asked whether in the current situation the available resources ought to be spent on wages or social welfare benefits and services, the respondents suggested a middle solution: to spend the same amount on both.

At the same time, parallel to the above study, another CBOS team is in the process of conducting a more in-depth study on the same topic in the same five enterprises by interviewing the representatives of managements, self-governments, PZPR Executive Committees, and trade union organizations. So far the interviews have been completed in only one enterprise and the opinions noted are in almost complete agreement with the views expressed by the workers.

Thus, the wage system was criticized by them as bad, too complicated, and often fictitious. It really hampers management and encourages, if not forces cheating. And another opinion: the wage is no longer an economic category, rather it performs a social function. Also, an intermediate relationship between the wage and work was noted: the wage is a remuneration for being covered by a labor contract. The respondents believe that the crew is cognizant of the fact that in the prevailing conditions they cannot gain much by better work, and even if they can gain some the benefits are not worth the effort. All this has practical consequences: only a few agree to work overtime. Even in the piece work system, there is a wage ceiling, which cannot be crossed, particularly by young workers. The respondents maintain that the wage system is at fault here as well as the inability of the employee to influence the quality and amount of his work.

Kwiatkowski stated that at his request the heads of ministries have suggested 98 topics to be studied by the center. This year's schedule of studies includes such topics as savings and anti-inflation plans, trade unions, and evaluation of the top management.

Jerzy Urban emphasized the importance of CBOS for the government's decision-making process as well as for the education of the citizens. The knowledge of the public opinion will be always beneficial--he stated--even if the decisions taken will go against it. In such cases, the government will explain the reasons for such decisions. Informing about the results of CBOS studies will have an effect on the society, particularly by means of showing the differences of opinion on a given issue.

8609

CSO: 2600/926

## WORKERS SELF-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 12 May 83 p 1

[Article: "There Are 5900 of Them, Workers Self-Government Bodies in Action"]

[Text] Problems of workers self-government bodies' development and their part in realization of basic economic tasks for 1983-85--these were the main topics discussed on the 10th of this month during the second all-Polish meeting of workers' self-government representatives with the presidium of the Sejm's commission for factory workers' self-government bodies' affairs.

President of the Sejm, Stanislaw Gucwa, Vice-President of the Sejm, Piotr Stefanski, as well as the government's plenipotentiary for economic reform affairs, Minister Wladyslaw Baka, participated in the meeting. Experts, representatives from the Ministers' Council Bureau and the Chief Board of Inspection, as well as economic ministries were also present.

The chairman of the Sejm commission for self-government affairs, representative Jozef Barecki, said that at the first meeting of this kind in September of last year one of the speakers expressed the wish that by the end of 1982, at least 1000 workers' councils would be active. Time has proved that growth was not expected. By the end of last year 2090 workers' councils were re-activated. Presently, for the over 6500 plants in which workers' self-government can operate in accordance with the law on state plants, already almost 5900 workers' councils exist. The speaker further stated, that there are however people, who call the data on reactivation of self-government "numerical successes" and who feel that through their help we want to "obscure the threat and far-reaching danger" supposedly hanging over self-government. Those same people who presently want to question the significance of this fact, still called for a boycott of self-government half a year ago and stated that it would not be able to be brought back to life.

Presently, a new phase in self-government is beginning--a phase of practical action. It is the most difficult phase and has fundamental importance for the future of economic reform and social activeness of the workers' class.

During the meeting much was said about the part of workers' self-government bodies in realization of the plan for 1983-85, as well as of the anti-inflationary and economical programs. Minister Baka said, that the government

counts on mutual exchange of information and consultation with workers' self-government bodies on the most important economic problems.

Concrete conclusions concerning certain solutions of the economic reform were announced. It was stated, that one of the conditions for its success is acquisition of social support for the reform; among others, through self-government. Jozef Maras from the Agromet Agricultural Machine Factory in Strzelce Opolski stated, that their activists must not only become precisely orientated in the problems and realization of reform but also how to do it, in the light of over 100 legal documents already operative in this area.

There also was not a lack of critical comments in the discussion. Jozef Kaleta from the Jelcz Auto Plants said that plant independence is sometimes limited by a badly functioning distribution system. In the presentations the problems of setting up the principles for cooperation between self-government and labor unions was also brought up.

A significantly larger number of similar concrete conclusions and comments were brought up during the meeting. In short, certain problems resulted sometimes from a misunderstanding of principles and regulations in force. On the other hand, others require explanation and solutions.

12281

CSO: 2600/882

## WORKERS ASSESS PARTY TASKS, GOALS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 May 83 pp 1, 2

[Statements by party members, representing both blue-collar and white-collar workers: "My Party Task"]

[Text] In current party work, in everyday active participation in the social and economic life of factory workforces, in the implementation of party resolutions, an important role is played by individual tasks of comrades who belong to PZPR plant organizations. How they assess this form of intraparty work, what kind of studies are made and what problems they concern, has been told to TRYBUNA [LUDU] by:

Alfred Markiewicz, PKP locomotive engineer employed at the Wroclaw-Brochow junction:

Our common party task is to regain our society's confidence. I have been involved in problems of strengthening the newly-created trade unions. I am taking part in the activity of this organization. I regard this duty as the most important at present.

The executive body of the PZPR Plant Committee has also enjoined me to maintain contact with the Plant Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth. I attend the board's regular and general meetings and I attempt to advise young people on how they should resolve specific problems. I regularly report on my activities to the [PZPR Plant Committee] executive body which, by listening to my suggestions, helps young people in resolving many organizational, professional, and personal problems.

Wladyslaw Dus, production quality supervisor in the Rzeszow Zelmer Electronic Equipment Plant:

I think that the easiest way to activize all party members is to assign individual tasks and to consistently demand reports on their implementation; this is a measurable means to determine the effects of work, inasmuch as mere fulfillment of statutory obligations cannot be a standard by which to determine party involvement.

In our Departmental Party Organization, over 70 percent of members are implementing such tasks. For example, I am responsible for party training programs. These consist of talks about the party, its history, and its ideological struggle. Considerable attention is given to economic problems.

Tadeusz Pilarczyk, foreman in the strip mill of the Baildon Steel and Iron Works, Katowice:

The party task entrusted to me by my departmental [party] organization is, to some extent, a compound one. As a foreman I have the duty to be concerned about proper interhuman relations as well as about implementation of the plan's tasks. However, the point is that these problems must not be handled in a routine manner. We are short of [party] people, and the above calls for agreement in a [worker] collective as well as for truly operative labor management.

My task consists also in publicizing the content of party resolutions and in making sure that they are implemented correctly. Of current importance to us is the creation of a political platform for the cooperation with the plant council of Patriotic Council for National Salvation [PRON]. And this has to be done precisely at this lowest, plant echelon.

Edward Zabielski, metal fitter in the Agromet Agricultural Equipment Factory in Lublin:

As a party member and secretary of the Departmental Party Organization, I do not have a written list of tasks to be implemented. However, I know what I have to do in my place of work, in the organization, and in my place of residence. My tasks are defined by the PZPR statute.

It is of utmost importance that the behavior of party members as individuals be exemplary; just as important are their attitude and their influence on workers in their group. I think that as a foreman I have had some success in this respect, although people often work 12 hours a day and are tired and irritated. However, our superior goal--to work well as individuals and as a group in order to pull our country out of the crisis--makes it easy for me and my coworkers to understand one another.

Andrzej Zdrojewski, secretary of PZPR Plant Committee in the Chelmza Sugar Mill, Torun Province:

Party tasks as a form of [party] work are nothing new in our organizations activity. This is determined by the high standing of the party in our plant's life--every fourth employee is a member of PZPR.

We have embarked on two courses of implementation of tasks. The first, long-range course is related to the implementation of the resolution of the Ninth Congress in our entire plant and in the entire Chelmza community. The second course is concerned with immediate tasks. Party members receive individual tasks which will facilitate better implementation of the plant program of savings. The Plant Committee's executive body has noted possibilities of savings on raw materials, of better utilization of means of transport and more thorough preparation of this year's sugarbeet harvest and processing.

Helena Kowalik, province inspector in the Krakow Municipal Office:



We do not have permanent party functions; all secretaries engage in social work. Therefore, combining professional duties and organizational work calls for greater effort and imposes additional obligations on all party members.

My tasks include preparation of minutes of meetings in all the departments and keeping an up-to-date record of the progress of party work. People approach our plant committee with all kinds of problems, not just personal ones. I try to help them to the best of my ability. I believe that to do so is the most important and the most challenging task of a party member.

9577

CSO: 2600/913

## FUTURE OF UNIONS, RELATIONS WITH PARTY VIEWED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Jun 83 p 4

[Article by Kazimierz Mzyk]

[Text] If today one would want to prognosticate the future growth of the trade union movement on the basis of what is known about it so far, he could assume that soon nearly all places of employment in Poland will have trade unions.

This does not mean that the reborn trade union movement will occupy immediately the proper place in the socialist society and that from the beginning it will properly represent the professional interests of the working people as well as defend their rights and interests, and that it will participate in the shaping and execution of the socioeconomic tasks of the country and in the educational process. For that depends not so much on the number of the trade unions in the country and their supplant structures as on the quality of the trade union work in enterprises. In general, the membership of the new trade unions does not exceed 20 percent of the work force in a given enterprise. There are numerous exceptions, of course, for example, in agriculture, and the steel and excavating industries, where the growth of the trade union movement is more advanced. Also, a rapid growth of the union ranks has been observed. Employees, who have joined the unions did it in most cases for political and not professional reasons or social benefits coming with it. Outside the trade union movement there are still the undecided ones, who wait to see the course of events, and particularly await an attractive membership offer, which would include such benefits as sanatoriums, subsidies, food supply organization, and other forms of defense against the crisis. The barrier of further growth of union ranks is to a degree a generation barrier. The union movement contains up to 20 percent of young people; thus, a considerable percentage of the youth is still outside it.

The new unions are also in the process of defining themselves. We know that they ought not to resemble the pre-August 1980 and pre-December 1981, that is, they should not make the same mistakes as their predecessors.

What should they continue, however, and what to contribute? This is not the only problem worth pondering, for the workers constitute nearly 60 percent

of the emerging trade unions. Will they become the workers' unions—only the future or rather their ability to represent their own interests will show that.

There is no doubt that the trade unions ought to protect professional interests. This follows from their name and the bill. But is that enough? After all, representing and protecting means not just giving and protecting one's right to participate in giving, but also participation in creating. From the position of class interests it is easier to participate in creation, because then the professional interests acquire proper proportions and objective dimensions, although then it is more difficult for the unions to protect individuals' and professional interests, which may get lost in larger perspectives.

The bill on trade unions defines the basic principles of the functioning of the unions, and thus in some way defines their role in the system; it emphasizes the self-government of the unions, their independence of the administration and accentuates their functions of a defender, representative, participant, and educator.

The first experiences of the trade union movement indicate that the unions pay great attention to the idea of self-government and that they are capable of defending that idea, but they are not skillful enough in using mechanisms, which enable to strengthen that self-government in practice, among others, during the decisionmaking process or the election of union leadership. The problem the independence of trade unions of administration is a little different. On the one hand, the union members demonstrate their independence and point out to its violation by the administration, on the other hand, they prefer not to see the other side of the coin, that is, the independence of administration of the trade unions. This independence enables the administration to forego many obligations vis-a-vis the unions required in the past. This may seriously handicap the process of unions' achieving their independence, particularly that the union structures are still fragile, while their material opportunities for action remain miniscule.

Among the functions listed in the bill, the participation and education of the working people are the ones which have been paid little attention by the unions. In some environments it is believed that participation will be possible later when the movement gains more strength and wins more trust of the working people. It is also believed that participation ought to be based on the partnership principle, and yet at present the unions are too weak to be a partner in the full meaning of this word. Those, who reject these particular fears and profess their readiness to participate in overcoming the crisis by, among others, participation in making decisions, which may be unpopular among the population, are still a minority.

It is the unions themselves which will decide the place and the role of the trade unions in a place of employment, and consequently in society. Of great importance for the situation of the unions in an enterprise will be their ability to cooperate not only with administration, but also with the

self-government. It is not easy to define the existing relationship between the trade unions and the self-government on the basis of current experiences. These organizations are being formed simultaneously in the enterprises. It is difficult to foresee on what they will base their future cooperation. It is clear that the past experiences of cooperation between the unions and the self-government, which had been legally subordinated to the unions, are being forgotten. Fears have been expressed, however, that the self-government will be an institution, which will compete with the trade unions, and perhaps, even paralyze them. Rarely one can hear the view that the unions ought to fight for the workers' self-government, for it strengthens democratic relations in an enterprise and thus objectively supports the trade unions.

The bias against self-government probably stems also from the old habits of union work, which in the past focused on negotiations, consultations, and disputes with the director, and thus it had a more of an office-type character rather than open one. However, the self-government by definition will limit these practices and will open a forum for open and public debates at the meetings of the self-government, which has a decisionmaking authority.

An attempt to define the relationship between the party and the unions in present conditions was undertaken by the PZPR Central Committee at its tenth plenary meeting in 1982, where the party's attitude toward the reborn trade unions was defined. According to the decisions made at that meeting, the party and its echelons accept the independence of trade unions from the administration and will defend it. There is no subordinate-superior relationship between the party organizations and echelons and the trade unions, and therefore they should create cooperation forums to deal with matters, which have a decisive effect on the terms and conditions of employment as well as benefits of the working crews. Party resolutions with regard to matters, which are the object of the union activities ought to reflect the unions' views. The PZPR Central Committee instructed secretaries of the basic party organizations [POP] and branch party organizations [OOP] to avoid combining leadership positions in the party and the unions. Thus, the party rejected the view that a partnership with the unions is incompatible with its leading role in the society. Also, the party made no effort to single out all possible cooperation platforms taking the position that cataloging them is neither possible nor purposeful. The framework of cooperation will be decided by practice, which will define the partnership principles in general and perhaps expand toward areas, which have been traditionally reserved for political parties only.

Such attitude toward partnership, however, should not cover and blur the party's leading position in the society, including the unions; on the contrary, it ought to strengthen and expand its democratic and political forms. There is no doubt that in order to execute socialist tasks the party will attempt to influence the unions' program. It will accomplish it, however, by political means, and above all, through its members in the unions and existing legal instruments. For example, the personnel policy would be practiced by respecting the self-government of the trade unions, that is,

by submitting the names of party members for the union offices, which will be filled by the decision of the union electorate. This does not mean that the party will not continue to campaign, train, and prepare its own candidates for the union offices.

The resolution of the tenth plenary meeting of the PZPR Central Committee stated that creating new trade unions is a difficult and complex problem. One must not flee from them, but on the contrary, learn them so that they would not escape society's control. This requires not just knowledge, but also a desire to participate in this historic process as well as a skill to direct social processes. The party needs that in order to create the conditions for political unity of the union movement in accordance with the resolution of the tenth plenary meeting of the PZPR Central Committee.

8609

CSO: 2600/959

## WRITER BEMOANS OVERUSE OF PROPAGANDA ON PRON CONGRESS

Warsaw LAD in Polish No 21, 22 May 83 p 1

[Article by Witold Olszewski]

[Text] PRON Congress has generated in the media literally a flood of stereotypic phrases, journalistic routines, worn-out gimmicks, all of which have been known by heart for decades. Television is clearly in the forefront of this phenomenon. It gives a recital of propaganda exaltations, tricks, and subtricks. This is unfortunately the type of "engineering," which creates an isolating partition between the events and the public opinion. I am sure that the PRON leaders are embarrassed by the ostentatious manifestations of the laboratory-created enthusiasm. Even at the congress many speakers with bitterness and anger criticized the propaganda habits of the television and radio, which lose in the process all manifestations of authenticity, criticism, and independence of thought, exemplified by many speeches delivered at the congress.

A question arises: Is this a deeply rooted habit, which has become the media's second nature? If they continue to tell us that the entire world was happily astonished by the PRON Congress, we will have to call it a tele-radio disservice. Has the language of official Poland lost its soul and the words changed into prostheses?

"What is the characteristics of any new idea?" asks a skeptic French writer. "It ages." And what can one say when awkward and overly accommodating propagandists eagerly carry this idea from a cradle over to the house for the aged? For, if PRON is to become the embryo of renewal, rebirth, and expression of the organized public opinion, who will trust the sincerity of the official enthusiasts, who are expected to pick it up independently of higher authorities? Who is responsible for that? Who can stop it? In my opinion the political leadership ought to instruct the censorship office to direct its energies against such enthusiasts...PRON has a special place in the society. [Deleted in accordance with the Decree on Martial Law of 12 Dec 1981, Ch. II, Art. 17, Item 4 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 29, Item 154)].

The place of PRON ought not to be on the fringes of the silent majority, but amongst it. The society ought to be addressed from inside by the use of its own language, categories, and in accordance with its criteria instead of by an outdated language, which is filled with notions popular in the years

that are never to come back. This is a lengthy process, requiring practice in order to win credibility and trust afterwards. Naturally, such position and methods initially forces PRON into isolation and remaining for a possibly long time an island on the Sea of Mistrust. But can it be different when the waves of fresh experiences, passions, and lost hopes encounter the wind of deceptive visions of tomorrow, promises, and of pandering to aged complexes, ambitions still alive, and to the nation's traditions?

Political wit and the feeling of responsibility for Poland cannot be expressed in cliches. Fabricated enthusiasm will not generate either real enthusiasm or moral credibility. Life does not thrive on propaganda, particularly one which is so alien to the psychology of the Polish nation. The truth lives and thrives on authentic conviction, which is supported by examples, and even--let us not be afraid to use this phrase--by the loss of life. The rebirth movement must find a new language. The beginning was made at the congress. A new sound could be detected in the opening speech by the PRON chairman. Likewise, new sound could be heard in some nonstereotypic speeches. But now everything disappears in the cloud of dried-up and rustling words of mass propaganda. One is tempted to repeat after a satirical writer that the road from words to action leads sometimes through a million words.

In politics a suitable word has the value of action. Sometimes it means even more than that. It has been said about de Gaulle that he was able to rule France by means of masterful speeches. The way to even minimal understanding leads not through wisdom only. Emotional incentives must be found to move the collective consciousness of the Polish silent majority.

Apollinaire-Kostrowicki, French poet of Polish descent, stated the following: "Our victory will be the ability to see far away, to see everything up close, and to give everything a new name."

8609

CSO: 2600/933

## OLSZTYN PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

### Olsztyn Plenum on Party Changes

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 12 May 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by dan]

[Text] Today there is a session of the Provincial Party Committee of the PZPR. The topics of the plenary meeting are intraparty and organizational matters.

A recent analysis of the state of the party has helped the executive committees at city, city-parish, and parish levels to assess the happenings which in the past 2 years have occurred in the party, and in describing the current tendencies of change. From these analysis and ponderings result conclusions important in political, indoctrination, educational, and intraparty organizational work.

The recently completed ordering of data has answered the statistical question--how many of us are there? More important is the awareness of the fact, what kind of members are we in a party which in the resolution of the 9th Party Congress has taken on assignments that are not easy, but are ones that need doing?

No one is making a secret of the fact that there are fewer of us then there were in the 1970's. From the middle of 1981 the ranks of the provincial party organization have shrunk by 6,371 persons--that is, by 12 percent. This state was shown by a scrupulous census. The reasons for the shrinkage in party ranks are known: membership cancellations, expulsions, and "natural loss." It is also no secret that a significant group among those with cancelled memberships is formed by persons who had left the party at their own request handing in their party cards. It is also significant that among all the cancelled memberships (including those who had turned in their party cards) the largest percentage was formed by persons who stepped out of the party between 1972 and 1979.

These phenomena which have appeared in the party membership are linked to the crisis in the economic and social spheres, as well as to the attack of internal and external ideological opponents--but above all to a crisis in



ideology. In the process of self-cleansing the party, persons who were ideologically weak, who were not resistant to enemy propaganda and misinformation, resigned. With them went many opportunists. "May there be fewer of us, but let us be in the fullness of our conscious convictions," repeat those party members who do not view its ideology in the light of changing circumstances and who understand the class conditions of the modern world.

This understanding does not come by itself, it is not revelation. It requires the knowledge of the foundations of marxism, the learning of a realistic outlook on actuality in all its complexity. Therefore it is a matter of unusual importance in party work to link ideological schooling with current problems resulting from the political situation.

Members of the province echelon, at today's plenary session, will assuredly not omit the problems tied to the improvement of forms and methods in the work of ideological education, the part played by the basic organizations, party discipline, and other party functions which have a decisive influence on the completion of undertaken programs--the overcoming of the crisis and the betterment of the standard of life in the nation.

Olsztyn Secretary Jan Malinowski

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 12 May 83 p 3

[Interview of Olsztyn Secretary Jan Malinowski by Karol Krus]

[Text] [Question] Our discussions do not omit irritating questions. We cannot run away from economic problems. Today life may be harder in this country but we are probably working better. However, daily realities do not pamper us...

[Answer] I fully agree. It is worthwhile to recall that several months ago we were shopping utilizing "support of ration cards," among other things, for cooking oil, powdered milk, detergents, alcohol, cigarettes, and candy. Soon the rationing of shoes will be over. Everyone notices that the economy is improving, although supply problems are still great. There is also a shortage of candidates to fill factory crews, building construction crews, transport crews and others. From the result of the analysis it appears that often the shortage of labor in a given industrial unit is equal to the number of persons taking child-raising leave.

[Question] One should not appraise this hard-won prize of mothers and families in such a negative light.

[Answer] I have no such intentions. Facts, however, count. In many light industry concerns the lack of workers is especially high because of child-raising leaves of absence. It is like this in the well-known Ketrzyn area Warmia production unit. Products from this unit are highly desired on the domestic market, and are well thought of by foreign buyers. There are many similar examples. It is also worth mentioning that in the whole country

there are more persons on child-raising leave than there are people in Olsztyn Province.

[Question] From an equation with too many variables there will be no result which will allow us to picture the future fully. There is an ongoing material saving and anti-inflation program in the factories. What kind of results may we expect?

[Answer] It must be stated first and once and for all that these programs are not separate from the socioeconomic plans. They are thought out as extremely important protection of the reality and high effectiveness of management in the industrial units, factories, and budgetary units. They indicate the search for and use of hereto-unnoticed economic reserves. We are not concerned with the scope of such programs. We feel that, speaking picturesquely, a program that is brief and to the point is better than a program many pages long that is a mere repetition of old slogans from an economic encyclopedia.

[Question] From the text of comrade secretary's speech it appears that some of those involved in the struggle to repair the economy have fled under the banner of slogans.

[Answer] According to our understanding concrete programs have the upper hand. We wish that all were such, independent of the size of the industrial unit, production units, and other factors. The work crews expect from their directorships, management, worker councils, union organizations that the ongoing work will provide an answer to the basic question: What will the work crews gain from completing the programs? We have turned to the party echelons and organizations to inspire the correct efforts in the industrial concerns, so that the work crews would not only know about the factory programs but help in formulating them. We took part in many meetings concerning the problems of saving materials and fighting inflation. Some programs were already publicized by the Olsztyn press, radio, and TV. We are counting on the fact that more information will be disseminated. At this time I have a request to the GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA that, conditions permitting, two programs be placed in a single issue--one promising real effects and one, for comparison, from which no real results may be expected. Let society know which work places, and who, had put in the correct effort at the planning stages of future actions. At the same time there will be no reason to leave anonymous those economic units whose managers, to date, have not assured the correct organization of work.

[Question] We will be probably met with accusations of undue interference in the matters of independent enterprises.

[Answer] We consider showing the truth as good propaganda. This does not mean that we are making decisions for the enterprise. At this time I'd like to say that after a meeting of worker activists and the management cadre which took place 6 April of this year in Olsztyn, several enterprises sent requests for corrections to the information presented. After investigating the matter we found that there was no need for corrections as the facts

presented were true. At the same time we observed that in those economic units which were presented in a critical light efforts were undertaken to use existing resources in improving management instead of attempting to excuse the situation with objective impossibilities.

[Question] How can we judge the progress of work on the factory material saving and anti-inflation programs? The National Council [Sejm] has approved a 3-year plan together with national programs, what about the industrial concerns?

[Answer] In the greater part of the industrial concerns, work on the programs has been finished or is nearing completion. This does not mean that they have been approved by the worker advisory councils. In the next few days they will be examined by the self-management bodies of the enterprises and industrial concerns. In May the stage of programming and approving these undertakings will be finished. These programs, however, are open to improvements without using outside resources--for example: credits. In the socioeconomic department of the Provincial Committee [KW] of the PZPR in Olsztyn, we project that the realization of socioeconomic plans with anti-inflation and material-saving programs this year, will constitute an important stage in overcoming the crisis. It is not necessary to add that the success in defeating the crisis must be measured by the rise in production and normalization of the market situation. This is also helped by well-executed factory objectives at every work station. I would like to stress the fact that economic success is determined by results, not intentions. We have never lacked good intentions. This time there will be no lack of consequences in effective execution of the undertaken acts.

[Question] Some time must pass before they are worked out and more before the factory plans for material savings are implemented. Meanwhile, in many factories there are the beginnings of shortages in materials for ongoing production.

[Answer] We are not concealing the fact that the difficulties in supplying certain materials are great. In particular I am referring to materials from the steel-producing sector. In this especially difficult situation we must find solutions which change the structure of production to use less material, as for example at Polam-Farel in the Ketrzyn area.

[Question] The situation is alarming at some factories, especially in that we should be encouraging the growth of production rather than just maintaining its level.

[Answer] Material-saving programs should help in this. We maintain that about half of the growth in production will be due to the saved raw resources and materials. If the Olsztyn industrial community accepts this challenge to save 6 percent of the cement and 6 percent of the steel, while using 15-18,000 tons of cement and 2,200-3,000 tons of steel the savings would amount to hundreds of tons--in just one industrial unit. It may then be said that the future will be determined by the decisive earnest approach to the saving of raw materials and supplies in all sectors of the economy.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

#### Olsztyn Province Plenum on Party Organizations

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 13 May 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Danuta Kolodziej-Gluchowska and Bogdan Miller: "Perfecting the Work of Basic Party Organizations and Strengthening Their Role in Society"]

[Text] Yesterday the Provincial Committee of the Olsztyn PZPR discussed at a plenary conference the problems connected with the state of the party and the deployment of its resources in Olsztyn Province. Włodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, secretary of the Central Committee, took part in the conference as substitute for the Politburo member. Present also were members of the Revision Commission of the Provincial Committee, secretaries of the larger Basic Party Organizations and secretaries of the fundamental echelons. The conference was presided over by the first secretary of the Provincial Committee, Jan Laskowski. Those assembled honored the memory of the deceased secretary of the Provincial Committee, Władysław Dragun, with a minute of silence.

The opening report was given in the name of the executive organ of the Provincial Committee, by Tadeusz Jelski. Eighteen comrades spoke out in the discussion. The plenum accepted a resolution which is being printed separately.

#### Discussion of Report

The subject of the discussions were the conclusions drawn from an analysis of the numerical state of the party and a summary presentation of the state of the ideological schooling work. As it appears from the presented data, the party structure of organization at the provincial level is characteristically scattered. The dominant organizations are low in membership, and such distribution of strength requires differentiated forms and methods of operation. Independently from the other conclusions resulting from either the numerical superiority of the Basic Party Organizations in the city over those in the country, or the distinction of members due to class origins, one fact is worrisome. The party is aging, and young people form a negligible part of its ranks. The young are also the largest group among those who were cancelled or removed. In one sentence, in years past, while care was taken in the selection of candidates from among the youth, it seems obvious that the matter of tying them ideologically to the party has been neglected. Another worrisome fact is the large number of cancelled or removed blue collar worker members. It is bad enough that blue collar workers form only about one-third of the party membership in the province. These facts, stressed in the report, cannot be passed off with indifference. However, they have influenced changes in the party that are not only quantitative but qualitative as well. Today's party members stand out for their civic activities, their involvement in organizing the sociopolitical life. It is enough to mention self-rule, labor councils, and finally the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. This activity seems to have found expression in, as it seems from the data presented in the report, in stopping the tendency for members for leaving the party, but also in a noticeable increase in the number of new members. As for the

decrease in the numbers of party members, it is a healthy thing that the ranks of the party have been cleansed of political bankrupts, double-dealers, and careerists. We never needed these people. If there are any left in our ranks today, then they must be unmasked and removed, without pity and in a consistent manner.

In the remainder of the report the question of motivating the party members in party activities, and its presence in all areas of socioeconomic life, in all centers of society. Especially, it should be mentioned, where there is youth. Above all, it is a very timely task for the party organizations and echelons to attract people who are most valuable through work on their ideological training. It is worthwhile to mention the universally true principle that none come to the party "for something," but "with something." First of all with the will to work for party goals and for the common good.

Next, some time was allocated to the activities of ideological propaganda in the workers' community, and especially to all those aspects which are decisive in a successful struggle against the political opponent. It is the level of the worker's awareness that has a definite meaning in the daily activities of the government and its decisions. Therefore it is important to eliminate the neglect from previous years in this field, and introduce new forms of action which seem to have the most meaning in the process of raising the state of ideological preparedness of the party activists, as well as the membership as a whole. These new forms, the new intensity of filling out the knowledge about the wide ranging reforms which are rebuilding the social life and the political system of our nation. This is a wider-than-present consideration of economic politics, historic themes, the question of class struggle, the place of Poland in the socialist entity, and Polish-Soviet relations. Underscoring the necessity of expanding the schooling program in this direction, a positive appraisal was given in the report in regards to the flow of political information--via telex, the printed media, as well as by lectures. Although there sometimes occur "disruptions in transmission," for instance, party organizations. The continuation of perfecting this flow is a duty arising from the fact that even when the greater part of an active party group in an industrial enterprise has a good idea of the causes and consequences of an existing disturbance in the social consciousness, then still in part of that group worrisome views arise, these due to the undervaluing of the meaning of propaganda activities and agitation, its wholeness and differentiation.

Today we cannot have an in-depth examination of any problem, especially ideological problems removed from reality of the industrial unit. From this point of view importance was given in the report to indicators that illustrate the drive and courage shown by the party organizations in coming out to the work crews while at the same time presenting the party position in polemics with the views of political opponents. In this activity it is important to utilize the specially prepared propaganda materials. The party, in this way, can attain success. This will not be possible without indoctrination and propaganda activities of every party member. Therefore--as it was summed up in conclusion--the discussion at the plenary meeting of the Provincial Committee should be treated as the beginning of the discussion in

the entire provincial organization. It is also necessary to carry these discussions to the field and industrial echelons, but first to the Basic Party Organizations.

#### General Discussion

Members of the Provincial Committee had acquainted themselves beforehand with a monograph that contained the detailed statistical data which concerned the provincial party organizations; the figures concerning the party ranks, their distribution in certain areas, changes which occurred from 30 June 1981 to 31 December 1982, the last year and a half. The ordering of the data, the party census, and the discussion of these matters in the circle of party activists of the basic echelons helped to bring out practical conclusions, which were relative to the ongoing party activity as well as its programming. Yesterday's discussion was of this character. Most frequent were attempts to answer the question on how to organize internal party work so that it would bring out the expected political results, so that it would strengthen the basic links of the party, and activate those Basic Party Organizations which have not yet recovered their courage in presenting party programs and struggling for their realization.

The importance of party schooling was underscored. During the 1970's this field was badly neglected as to become superficial. Presently it is regaining its rank in party life. It is becoming authentic, as a form of enriching and increasing the depth of knowledge that party members possess about the basics of world outlook, the ongoing instances of class struggle, the actual directions of political aspirations, and the goals of the economic struggles. Among others Wanda Dawidowicz from Korsz spoke about positive examples of schooling and systematic schooling, primarily on current socioeconomic themes, was embraced by party members from the pedagogical and industrial labor fields. Another discussion participant, Danuta Boryszewska, director of the Collective Parish School in Mragow, concluded that schooling in the Basic Party Organizations which consist mostly of teachers should be carried out by highly qualified lecturers from the Central Committee or the Provincial Committee. However, at the parish school in Ilawa, said Czeslaw Lendzionowski, the Basic Party Organization organizes schooling, selecting comrades in turn to prepare and lead the sessions.

Zbigniew Puchajda, first secretary of the Educational Committee in ART, weaving reflections on the state of the party, compared its cross-section to a cross-section of the entire society. He separated it into several groups each with a different level of involvement and activity. "Most dangerous and most harmful to the party," he said, "are disloyal members. Those who do not speak out at meetings, but afterward totally criticize all resolutions.... By all means they try to decrease the authority of the party to which they themselves belong.... This group must be battled relentlessly. The largest group is made up of those members who are called passive. In most cases their low level of involvement results from the lack of the proper predisposition. These comrades will willingly execute assignments given them, they are devoted to the party, they support and defend it.... The mobilization of all those who can be included in the party effort is an important assignment."

Next, the speaker concluded that the main weight of party work rests and will remain with the activists. Presently the active membership has crystallized and hardened. One must with it systematically, give it arguments, pass it current political information, strengthen its authority and feeling of self-worth. The provincial party leadership should remember this.

The necessity of systematic work with the party activists has been affirmed by other comrades. In Olsztyn Province there are many village organizations with small memberships. Many of these organizations, described as weak, need help. They exist mostly in villages that have no school. Therefore greater responsibility falls on the parish or the city-parish committee and its associated activist group. For example, in the Zalewo Parish Committee a special group of social instructors was formed and each member was given the responsibility for one village Basic Party Organization. Aleksander Dynarski, first secretary of the Parish Committee in Zalewo, spoke about this and gave examples of the growing activity of party organizations in the industrial enterprises. He postulated that the upcoming party meeting should be used for analysis and the deployment of party strength, also he suggested that the Basic Party Organizations should have their own programs for building up their ranks. The echelons and the more resilient Basic Party Organizations are organizing meetings with valuable young people, they invite them to open party meetings, involve them in social work. The committee also conducts systematic schooling of candidates and young party members.

Sergiusz Rubczewski, the Olsztyn governor, spoke about raising the rank of the Basic Party Organization and strengthening its function. The Industrial Committee in the Province Administration and the management of the Provincial Administrative office is giving the matter special attention. Among other things, a provincial council of party activists of administrative units which have fulfilled their assignments has been formed. The Industrial Committee intends to take over with service and aid for party organizations in the field administrative units--with the understanding, of course, of the echelon at the basic level. All activities that strengthen the party are necessary.

Henryk Rzepczynski from Ostroda informed that each basic party organization has been assigned a protector from the City Committee. In analyzing the social composition of party members he concluded that social origin has a definite influence on their orientation. He stressed that it does matter who works with youth in whom the need for common action must be implanted in the early years.

Marian Cejnowa, from Ostroda, spoke about the part played by party members in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. It should affirm actions which will serve the development of socialism and the integration of society around patriotic ideals; inspire local social actions; detect social pathology, work that is for show only--not real; to carry the perspective of the total society into the community by one's own conduct and work which shows the correctness of the ideals of socialism. The leading role of the party depends upon this. There are high expectations in this role--ideological, political and moral. "It would be good," said the speaker, "to do an honest

appraisal of party members even at the lowest levels--the secretaries and executives of the Basic Party Organizations. For if the secretary is weak, and the executives are weak, then the Basic Party Organization is weak. How will we strengthen it if we look on passively?"

Several specific matters, not directly tied to the theme of the talks were touched upon. Among others, Stanislaw Wiatrowski, first secretary of the City Committee in Nidzica, spoke about the unjustified founding, at the Olsztyn Furniture Factory, of a special commission which was to distribute money for social purposes, while there already were authorized organizations for this purpose. Danuta Boryszewska was incensed in regard to the methods used to picture the situation in the media (as if the teachers are responsible for the fact that there is a shortage of them--they did not demand the privileges which some want to have removed). She also moved the question of graduated party dues. Marian Sawicki spoke about the difficulties in Barczewo--the "bedroom" of Olsztyn, and the distribution of tractors. Jan Wojtowicz from Dobrze Miasto criticized the regionalization of some functions of the field administration.

Sergiusz Rubczewski, the Olsztyn governor, addressed himself to some of these matters. He explained that there is an ongoing audit of farm machinery for 1982, but for 1983 no machines have been put in reserve for the use of provincial governments. He justified the grouping of some administrative functions by region (communications and employment among others). The matter of the creation of a special commission to distribute money for social purposes at the Olsztyn Furniture Factory was explained by the concern's director Franciszek Wenta. He said that if the commission is not in accordance with regulations it can be dissolved.

#### Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak Speaks Out

The CC Secretary treated his appearance as a voice in the plenary discussion. He addressed himself to many of the matters moved during the plenum. Among other things he illuminated the actual danger that threatens the future of teaching--in reference to the matter brought out by the Mragow teacher Danuta Boryszewska. "This is," he stressed "today's problem, not only for teachers but for all in Poland. I agree that one must think about the effects before making a decision. On the other hand, the teachers should understand the situation and its objective demands. The regulation of rates of pay is an important and solvable problem. I think that the teachers should introduce an initiative to abandon the proposal for shortening the number of hours in school and early retirement. The teachers should do this with an understanding of the common good."

Addressing the problems related to party dues, he stated that he has received more and more factual indications from the field that point out the necessity for change. This is being worked on in the central echelon. Even with the search for savings, this matter is well put.

"On the margin of this matter of party dues, with sorrow I must admit," he said, "that my native provincial organization is, in this regard, in one of the last places in the country."



Next the speaker discussed the quantitative and qualitative status of the party in a general cross-section. The trends and instances in our province are confirmed. He answered affirmatively a question which concerned the links between the social background and activity of party members. He stressed the importance of this fact. A great many people with party cards have farm and industrial family backgrounds. From them we can and must expect a class approach and the principal basis in the relation to the question of party of government. If one is to assess the quality of an organization, then even with what came out at the plenary discussion, it varies. The range goes from those that are very good to the "sleepers." "This bothers us," said W. Mokrzyszczak, "that in relation to the desires, ambitions, and effort the activity of the members is growing too slowly and the tendency to move into work outside the party is low. We must direct more effort into the worker's community. Still our organizations are not stepping out into the field of education, the institutions of higher learning, the centers of culture and art. There are indications, however, that something is happening in this area. The most convincing example was the First Congress of PRON.

On the margin I would like to hazard a conclusion--while we have learned how to battle our political opponents, we still must polemicize with those who are not our enemies, but do not share our views. We must polemicize and convince them of the rightness of our own party views.

"One meets with," continued W. Mokrzyszczak, "the fear that sometimes there are departures from the letter of the reforms and resolutions of the 9th Party Congress. There is truth to the fact that modern times bring unforeseen new problems. Therefore, it is a duty to keep up our guard and accept the good while eliminating the harmful.

"Today's assignment is the improvement of our work and the strengthening of the role of the Basic Party Organizations. That which was done to date is probably insufficient. However, much depends on the initiative of the secretaries of and the organizations themselves. We must consequently use our knowledge and exploit existing chances--for example: the completed handbook for Basic Party Organization secretary. More care should be taken in preparing for meetings, especially the open ones. Badly prepared meetings compromise the party," the speaker stated.

"It is well," he added, "that in the materials distributed during the plenum leninist principles of party life were recalled. Their observance decides the success of party actions--from the center to each individual member of the party."

The CC secretary, in concluding his speech, returned to the role of the party organizations. He stressed with satisfaction that the strength of their actions in society is growing. An indicator of this was the course of the 1 May manifestations. "At this time," he said, "one should give thanks and have respect for the wisdom of society. For us the guarantee of the normalization of life in the nation must depend on the completion of the resolutions and responsibilities accepted by all party echelons."

## Jan Laskowski Speaks Out

At the end spoke Jan Laskowski, first secretary of the Provincial Committee. In brief he mentioned the form of schooling party activists in 2- and 3-day courses, whose themes were adjusted to the current political needs. "We are all learning party activism from the times we live in. Life will show us if we are doing our utmost. It is not possible to foresee the most effective methods for acting on a given day in a given situation. Is what we are doing, rebuilding and strengthening the party, sufficient?" The first secretary expressed doubt in those opinions that cited party weakness. "For a long time now there have not been as many active, devoted members as today," he said. "Not at these functions. But our party has weaknesses. The worst is not a meeting badly led, but our inability to organize and complete a given assignment. This happens most often where our links, the party members, have not the courage to act. But the number of weak Basic Party Organizations is shrinking."

Then J. Laskowski addressed several specific matters that had been under discussion. He summarized 4 months of economic performance. "The worst performance was in the housing construction sector which in that time completed only 17.6 percent of the yearly plan (in Olsztyn only 16 percent!). Not everything may be explained away by the lack of glue. Nationwide 26.8 percent of the housing plan had been completed, even though the same shortages of materials exist. Strange excuses have been cited by some--for example: the lack of electrical power, when there had been no interruption in electrical supply during the year. This cannot be tolerated. We must be practical and not limit ourselves to discussions of politics and ideology. The party is weak in the building sector, there are few members among the builders. We must admit who we are and then tell ourselves the tasks that await us in the new situation that we have created by our actions. We are beginning to reconstruct the social democratic infrastructure, self-rule, labor unions, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. Up to the suspension of martial law we worked without them. As a result of party activity these are being recreated. The methods of party work must be described by these conditions. We always must be organized, but that does not mean that we should be brash, unsubtle. Where we were well organized as a party, there the effects are not bad, where we were not--poor. These cannot be called the work of our opponents--but our weaknesses. The weak spots must be broken. We must provide a workers' column in the party. Numbers alone do not determine party character, most important is revolutionary ideology and the practice of action."

The first secretary of the Provincial Committee gave his appraisal of the 1 May celebration and shared his impressions of the PRON congress.

The meeting was concluded with the singing of the "Internationale."

## Olsztyn Province Plenum Resolution

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 13 May 83 p 2

[Resolution of the PZPR Provincial Committee on Deploying Party Forces in the Olsztyn Province Party Organization]

[Text] The general directions for action of the Provincial Party Organization had been described in a resolution of the Provincial Review Conference which took place late in January 1983. The conference recognized that the chief task of the echelons and party organizations is work which will lead to the normalization of the economic and sociopolitical situations, and the consolidation of society around the implementation of the resolutions of the 9th Party Congress.

The Provincial Committee affirms that in the realization of this task definite progress had been made. Noticeable is the process of firming and consolidating party ranks. Still, however, there may be noticed a lack of high organizational efficiency, smooth functioning of the statutory principles of the Basic Party Organizations and party echelons. This state of affairs makes difficult the taking of initiative in the political struggle of the party and its smooth functioning as the leader in its surroundings.

In connection with the above, the Provincial Committee recognizes as a necessary consequence the completion of the "Resolution of the Provincial Review Conference" with the introduction into party work of the following tasks:

1. The development of systematic ideological educational activity for the purpose of recruiting into the party and its ranks the most valuable representatives of society--especially from the blue collar working class. For this, therefore, it is important to turn attention to the preparation of open party meetings, the familiarization of the staff, in the framework of central education, with the most current and related problems which stand before the party and the working population, rapid and decisive reactions to negative factors appearing in the social and socioeconomic life, encouragement of work in the area of economic problems, support of proper initiatives from the labor unions and self-rule boards of industrial concerns, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, and sociopolitical organizations in their own surroundings. Special care and dedication is required for ideological-political work with and the indoctrination of candidates and newly joined members.
2. The undertaking of actions to create a common ground for the work of all youth organizations, with special attention to the young worker community. Future development of the party springs from total involvement in working with the youth. The Provincial Committee has given the responsibility for the control and establishment of timetables to the party echelons. This resulted from a resolution of the Provincial Committee on the matter of youth in June 1982.
3. The working out of forms and methods in the organizations and echelons for the further building of party ranks, to assure the correct distribution

of party forces in the various communities, at the same time maintaining its class characteristics. An important meaning is taken on, in the bounds of party work, by the principle of the agreement of words and actions, the open intraparty life; the creation of a free climate for criticism and discussion, for consultation on political and economic decisions; the shaping of the foundations of responsibility for events in the workplace or community; the aggressive entry of party members, echelons, and organizations into those areas which require it; the consequences of accounting for the completion of assigned party work.

4. The leadership by ROPP, party echelons and organizations in systematic political education of party members, so that they may be ready to act in all the links of a social democracy which will assure the implementation of the programs and political line of the party.

The Provincial Committee has accepted for implementation the motions contained in the materials submitted to the plenary meeting. Also, the Provincial Committee has committed its political organization and ideological education arm to help the party echelons and organizations in implementing the decisions of the above-mentioned resolution.

The Commissions of the Provincial Committee for intraparty and ideological problems, with the already mentioned divisions of the Provincial Committee assure the overseeing of the completion of these tasks.

The Provincial Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party in Olsztyn.  
Olsztyn, 12 May 1983

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## PZPR WEEKLY EVALUATES PRON NATIONAL CONGRESS

Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish No 20, 15 May 83 p 2

[Article by Boleslaw Porowski: "The Time for Action Has Arrived"]

[Text] Before RZECZYWISTOSC No 20 gets to our respected readers, they will probably already have behind them a reading of the basic documents of the First PRON Congress [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth], the more important pronouncements and numerous reporters accounts of the discussions. Such is--unfortunately--the peculiar quality of weeklies. Their nature is impossible to avoid. Accordingly it is left for me to share with readers subjective reflections and considerations that arose during the more than 2 days of proceedings and in the course of the study of the rich materials of the congress.

## 1.

In the congress hall of the PKiN [Palace of Culture and Science] in Warsaw, 1,836 activists of PRON met from all regions of the country--from large industrial agglomerations, small towns and villages. Every 10th place was occupied by workers and almost the same number by farmers. Teachers (179 persons) were especially well-represented, as well as engineers and technicians (165 persons), thereby having no reasons for complaint. And I do not share the laments expressed by one of the speakers about the insufficient representation of young people--since every fifth participant of the congress was under 30 years old. Complaints that the participation of artists and scientific workers was too small are completely without justification in reality--since together there were slightly more of them in the congress hall than regular workers. I did not, however, notice in the hall several prominent figures of this circle, who honored this type of function with their presence in the 1970s and somewhat later. Perhaps the time has come for a changing of the guard, even those on pedestals. I am convinced that, for example, the delightful Mrs Halina Kossobudzka-Woszczerowicz through her talent and charm will evoke more regard for the actors' circle than Mr G. Holoubek; I did not see Mr Wajda, but--I think--his circle was no less well represented by Mr Kawalerowicz; I did not notice in the hall Mr Jan J. Szczepanski, but I see no reasons for shedding crocodile tears as long as

writers of the quality of Jan Dobraczynski and Wojciech Zukrowski participated in the congress. If I had any reservations, they would be solely concerned with the too modest representation--according to my conception of the role of the working class--of just that circle.

## 2.

Many speakers appeared at the rostrum of the First Congress, and many more would gladly have spoken. Those who succeeded in taking a turn spoke in general critically both of basic issues for the present and future of the country, and of numerous details of the extremely complicated Polish reality. Some went so far, though, as to submit motions that went beyond the limits of reality. Listening to the statements, it was possible to get the impression that some of the speakers went to the rostrum, among other things, to distinguish themselves in the memory of the participants by their very presence at the congress. I was lost in admiration for the outright poetic imagination of one of the speakers who demanded the immediate cessation of grain imports and the thanking for help of those friends of our country who are inclined to prop us up. According to that speaker, the grain which will be delivered to purchasing centers by our farmers, who would be prompted--as I presume--by their feelings of patriotism, ought to suffice. It is a great pity that this speaker did not acquaint himself earlier with the state of reserves in grain warehouses, and that he was not informed of the fact that were it not for help from the Soviet Union, we would most probably be feeling the present period before harvest especially painfully.

This example does not discredit the discussion as a whole. It only shows that public opinion does not always know well the reality of our economics. I am thoroughly convinced that the great majority of critical opinions were not an indication of a negation of the state's policy. It was a criticism of mistakes and sometimes losses, which might not have been; of expenses, which the nation might not have borne; of the waste of time and human energy, which might have been avoided; of unresolved matters, which might have been resolved. But the recipient of the greater part of these considerations and critical opinions was not always the proper one. In general the remarks were aimed at the top decisionmakers. Unfortunately, this was not always valid. The discussion also lacked a historical perspective, that is, a point of reference, which is essential for an objective and realistic analysis of the present situation.

The discussion was full of controversy, but there were few vehement quarrels or violent clashes. I think that in the discussion the state of social moods, dilemmas and conflicts, ideological and political divisions in our society were truly enough reflected. In short, it was confirmed to the fullest extent that the social movement in support of an understanding is desired, and frankly necessary, though the road to this understanding may be very arduous. Is there, however, any other effective means--besides discussion--for coming to an understanding? Even if out of these discussions came only the exchange and presentation of different views, this in itself has its own value.

3.

In spite of the considerable scattering of appraisals and opinions, the deep ideological and political differences, the participants of the First Congress practically unanimously accepted the program proposals of the Provisional National Council. This has only the appearance of a shocking phenomenon. Actually, there was an attempt in the proposals scrupulously to avoid matters which would divide the movement toward rebirth, while stressing those values which would unite the movement. In the program report it is distinctly emphasized that to this group of values belong:

--the constitutional principles of government, particularly the ideals of social justice;

--respect for work and its rewards, for those who create material and spiritual goods;

--democracy, which assures a true participation by citizens in the wielding of authority;

--dialogue and understanding as a method of overcoming divergent aims and interests;

--law and order and a feeling of civic responsibility--good will in mutual relations among people;

--respect for human dignity, tolerance for various world views and beliefs.

It is worth stressing that the creators of the program of PRON notice the differences in class, strata and group interests, while declaring at the same time the will to reveal and solve those differences by reaching agreements. This testifies to their understanding of the sociological reasons for social tensions and conflicts.

Although there was a longing that appeared from time to time in the discussion for the transformation of PRON into an institution of authority, the formula for an opinion-creating movement of organized public opinion won; a movement whose task will be not only the coordination and expression of attitudes with reference to public matters, but also--and I am stressing this with real pleasure since I appealed strongly for this myself--the stabilization, development and organization of civic initiative at home and at the workplace on a regional and countrywide scale.

4.

In the congress hall political slogans appeared as well which--taking the matter delicately--were of a suspicious nature. Among other things, one of the speakers stubbornly saw chances for agreement in the so-called historic compromise of marxists and Catholics--meaning, I suppose, in areas of their world views. One can only regret that this idea did not meet with a strong counterreaction from the side of our party activists. These were not,

however, the voices that decided the final contents of the documents with regard to the issues mentioned above. It was very clear that the participants in the movement "kept their own ideological identity and independence." The things written in the documents, however, still solve nothing. Ideological discussions will be necessary, for which activists of our party designated for this movement must carefully prepare themselves. "Most essential," stated Comrade W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at the forum of the congress, "is that the party be the spokesman for the interests of the main social force--the workers' class, and that it shows and realizes ideological, structural rightness of socialism to the fullest. This defines the special--political and moral--responsibility of the party for the successful development of the movement, for its meaning in the social order of the country. Members of the party, abiding by the rules of the declaration, will appeal in their discussions to factual, rational arguments. We want them to give an example of such ideological-political attitudes, which would gain social approval."

I think that the place of the party in PRON and the duties of its members in regard to this movement were distinctly and unambiguously defined.

5.

The congress has completed the formative stage of a movement for which there are great expectations in the society. Will PRON fulfill these expectations? It is hard today to answer that question. After all, the PRON activists themselves are especially restrained in formulating a prognosis. Undoubtedly, as was rightly taken into account in the program report, "the ability to put into action the stated ideas" will decide the future of the movement. We for our part declare our modest support for these in every respect valid Polish matters.

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## PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES DISCUSSED

### Discussion of PRON Goals, Objectives

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 2 Mar 83 pp 1, 5

[Article by Tadeusz Dudz: "A Time of Quest"]

[Text] There is an undeniable need for seeking the ways and methods of integrating the nation. We need to fuse our forces to accomplish our basic tasks and goals and to present those tasks and goals to the authorities on behalf of the nation. What role the PRON has to play in this effort is the subject of ongoing national debate. We took part in a meeting of this type.

PRON activists from the towns and gminas of Dzierzoniow, Bielawa, Pieszyce, Pilawa Gorna and Niemcza arrived in the Pegaz Club in Dzierzoniow. A sense of community within the bounds of the former Dzierzoniow County is still alive, making it easier to perceive shared problems and objectives, and facilitating communication. Provincial authorities were represented by PZPR Provincial Committee First Secretary Jozef Nowak, Governor Wladyslaw Piotrowski, and PRON Provincial Council delegate Marian Wyka. The meeting was chaired by Dzierzoniow administration chief Lucjan Wegiel, which was regarded as improper because PRON City Council chairman, engineer Ryszard Zmonarski, was in attendance. The audience immediately asked why an administrative official was running the meeting, and the chief had to provide an explanation.

On substantive issues, agreement was reached fairly rapidly. Certain formulations recurred in every speaker's remarks.

Doctor Kalinowski, a physician from Silesiana Outpatient Clinic:  
"...coordination of social initiatives, along with certain economic measures common to a region. In effect, perhaps a regional PRON council should be formed. There is no doubt that a PRON program should evolve from societal needs."

A representative of PKS: Procedural methods should be defined. Where, and to whom should problems in need of solution be reported? Perhaps an intervention team should be set up, or community meetings should be arranged?

Veterinarian Mieczyslaw Basinski: Let us emphasize the word "patriotic" in our movement. Its nature is well expressed by that word. It should attract people. We should reach out to the countryside and conduct direct conversations in the villages.

Engineer Ryszard Zmonarski: ...stimulate the authorities to take effective action, prove that the errors of the political system and of the authorities are correctable. Many people regard the authorities as their opponent, yet authority is not exercised by one person or two, but by bodies representative of society. It is worth reflecting whether PRON ought to perform a monitoring function and whether conclusions from such monitoring should become binding on the executive branch.

Engineer Wladyslaw Kubiak from Diora Production Plant for tourist radio receivers: If there is to be monitoring, its purpose will not be to destroy people, but rather to point out and correct improprieties in their performance. An excess of monitoring is as harmful as its absence.

Marian Wyka: We should clearly state that we do not want to set up a new authority superior to existing state and political authorities. That is not our task. Instead, we should articulate public opinion to the authorities and speak for legal due process in a socialist state. As far as monitoring is concerned, a half of those auditing measures will become unnecessary once economic laws come into play.

#### Diversity of Needs

Besides searching for programmatic formulas, comments were made on specific examples of PRON activities and its role in society, current and intended. Krystyna Wojciechowska from Bielawa: Our PRON city council includes 30 persons, while the structure of local PRON subunits virtually mirrors that of residents' self-government, frequently involving the same people. We deal with whatever concerns daily life brings in. Following up on our motion, the city authorities increased the number of stores with knitwear. We provide legal counseling (either handling an issue on the spot or passing it to appropriate institutions, as recorded by us on a Citizen Case Card). We have also been involved in settling disputes about allocation of storage sheds to residents. Recently, we arranged for accommodations, furniture, food ration cards and medical care for a "woodsman" (a mentally handicapped who lived in an animal pasture in the mountains). We even arbitrate among quarrelling family members.

PRON representative from Bielbaw: A fine facility, almost palatial, was recently erected in Bielawa through volunteer effort. We have had some discussion about it in our plant--what if we built a hospital or outpatient clinic by volunteer effort? Such facilities are no less needed.

Edward Kalinowski: We also see the need for improvement in bus transit to Walbrzych. It is not easy to reach the province capital.

Marek Sadowski: More thought should be given to current use of health care facilities--hospitals, outpatient clinics, and medical personnel. There is too

much divisiveness and too many divisions, too much parochialism. After some shifts toward integration, the support base and the personnel could be utilized better.

A question from the audience follows: What does PRON have in common with this?

Doctor Andrzej Janicki, head physician at Dzierzoniow Hospital, responds: This is how we, the medical profession, see this. Society's perceptions may differ. We offered a proposal for discussion. After all, we have all agreed that PRON articulates social opinion.

#### Authorities' Expectations

There was no time to enter detailed discussions, as the meeting continued till late. Without claiming to provide a summing up (since other speakers still followed him), Governor Piotrowski took the floor. The substance of his speech was that the provincial authority awaited proposals and initiatives to solve economic and social problems, along with constructive criticism and an evolving sense of joint responsibility in all. Many issues have no prescribed solutions. These must be sought in debate. PRON could become a platform of contact between the authorities and society.

Jozef Nowak spoke not so much as PZPR Provincial Committee First Secretary as vice chairman of PRON Provincial Council. Such meetings, he said, enable us to learn much and to assert some things. The point is to proceed from pluralism of beliefs, through accord, to unity with respect to our state's and our society's overriding objectives. In order to solve the many problems, each individual's potential, initiative and possibilities must be created and exploited.

The issues which we are facing, the first secretary concluded, call for mutual trust. We must reflect on how to elect trustworthy individuals to the state authorities, and whom to entrust with a mandate of our confidence. Elections deadlines for national people's councils are approaching.

#### PRON - Platform of Citizen Concern

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 21 Mar 83 pp 1-2

[Article by (mn): "Intervene in All Cases of Passivism, Apathy, Indifference and Insensitivity. PRON--A Platform for Civic Concern"]

[Text] PRON conferences held on 18 March in Cieszanow, Jaroslaw, Kanczuga, Oleszyce, Orly, Radymno, Stubno, Wielkie Oczy, and Zurawica concluded a pregress PRON programs-elections campaign on town and gmina level in Przemysl Province. The pregress discussions centered on draft declarations and PRON statute, and on each unit's balance-sheet of results, achievements, and shortcomings. Overall, PRON draft documents have been approved by active supporters of this movement in many communities. During the conference, 114 delegates to PRON provincial convention were elected. In Przemysl and Jaroslaw, the first few delegates to the May congress of PRON were also elected. Others will be elected at the provincial convention on 8 April.

By a majority vote of 222 delegates participating in the PRON city conference in Jaroslaw last Friday, the following persons were empowered in a secret ballot to be delegates to the congress: Julian Punicki, TRM PRON chairman, ZSMP Provincial Board vice-chairman in Przemyśl, dorm supervisor at the Road Engineering and Geodesic Technical School in Jaroslaw, and Teresa Krol, a noted activist in populist and feminist movements, chairperson of residents' committee No. 5 in Jaroslaw.

Their statements during the session included the following:

J. Punicki: I am in favor of equipping our movement's subunits with a system for effectively impacting on the operation of state administration bodies, and for empowering the movement with authority which we would be able to resort to if our justifiable motions and stipulations, or citizens' interests, are endangered. The point is to prevent another detour.

T. Krol: Honesty, dependability, and truthfulness are indispensable in our country for national accord and reestablishment of a widespread desire to work. We must wage a resolute battle against waste, so that nothing of our national property, now evidently insufficient, is squandered. PRON offers an opportunity to every person willing to work and act for the benefit of the fatherland.

A similar tone recurred in the statements of other PRON activists, representing various social and occupational communities. In reference to the PRON draft declaration which specifies the essence of the movement as organized public opinion among other things, TRM PRON member Zbigniew Szajowski from OPPZM PZZ said that social volunteers who had declared their enlistment in PRON should step in to take action wherever there is passivism, apathy, indifference, and insensitivity, no matter if it is in society or in offices and institutions. Signs of this kind hinder the process of rebirth and national accord.

PRON is winning an increasing circle of adherents in Jaroslaw, as evidenced by constant increases in the number of those willing to volunteer social action in plant, residential community, and school OKON's. Continued growth in the group of people of good will who do not want to stay on the sidelines but become active participants in the ongoing transformation is an optimistic sign, according to FJN [National Unity Front] and PRON activist Zbigniew Zadrozny. After the many shocks and doubts that have broken our hearts, each of us now needs optimism very much.

The Jaroslaw conference adopted resolution expressing a desire for further consistent action to aid the rebirth of societal coexistence in the town and rapid emergence from the political, economic, social and moral crisis. The PRON statute principles and draft declaration were assessed affirmatively. Intensified struggle against profiteering and against signs of societal pathology was supported. At the same time, PRON support was declared for youth groups' initiatives, related with expansion in residential construction. The conference elected 11 delegates to PRON provincial convention in Przemyśl.

Besides the local government members, the session of PRON aktiv in Jaroslaw was attended by TRW PRON vice chairman from Przemysl Jerzy Lobos and PZPR Provincial Committee Secretary Marian Domaradzki.

#### Comments of PRON Congress Participants

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 21 Mar 83 p 4

[Article by Jerzy Waksmaniak: "Major and Minor Concerns--Concurrently"]

[Text] The session of PRON Congress in Warsaw will be attended by 152 participants from Katowice Province. Who are those people? What social and occupational communities do they represent? What perceptions and comments of their own do they intend to take to the Congress forum of the first nationwide debate about national rebirth? Here are some early comments of Katowice delegates.

Marek Nowicki, employee of Bumar Labedy Combined Mechanical Appliances Plant in Gliwice, chairman of PRON Civic Plant Committee:

The PRON movement constitutes a wide forum for debate in which various sensitive problems and issues can be presented. Such problems are not in short supply at Labedy. Three major enterprises operate here: Bumar, Labedy Steelworks and Metal Rolling Plant. These enterprises should provide regular contributions to benefit the community, regardless of whether, or to what extent, they contribute now to benefit the plant residential community, which is a separate problem. We want to tackle this problem. People are convinced we will be able to do it, after all, PRON is a platform for consensus between the plant and the industrial section of the town. The enterprises should be more closely interested in the section's problems and in the afflictions and problems of its residents. For the most part, these people are employed locally by those enterprises. The latter's "interest" varies. Difficult conditions of life are the reason why many people leave in search of work elsewhere. This is the origin of rapid turnover in workforces.

Plenary discussion during congress sessions and informal conversations will permit the establishment of exemplary forms for cooperation between industry and the city, a specific enterprise, and particular city section where the enterprise is located. This is particularly needed now at a time of crisis when city government has no funds at its disposal to solve all problems in municipal economy and infrastructure. For instance, Labedy is in need of extending utility hookups to housing construction areas, further development of its trade and services network, and improvement in city transit. It cannot be said that nothing has been done with any help from the enterprises. Some things have been done, although perhaps not in all cases the things that people needed most. PRON which, according to the draft documents, is to represent organized public opinion is precisely the body that can and should affect decisions to be adopted.

Our city section PRON presidium is arranging a meeting with city authorities and plant directors in which the problems of Labedy will be presented. We hope to be able to find a platform for joint action and to delimit realistic prospects for the section's development.

Irena Skroba, Mining Garments Plant in Ruda Slaska, PRON chairperson in Chebzie section of Nowy Bytom:

From the outset of our activity we have been dealing with matters concerning the standards of living and work for all local residents. Those matters affected youth and adults, municipal and social concerns, housing, services, and environmental protection.

We try to handle as much as we can, never losing sight of the formation of correct civic attitudes and patriotism in young people. To further this program we resorted to dissemination of familiarity with the tradition of national and revolutionary struggle of our area. We are well aware that school graduates frequently are unacquainted with the city's past and the biographies of people who championed the Polish cause.

Consequently, we approached the educational authorities with the proposal for these topics to be included more fully in the programs of civic education. We believe that the upbringing of the young generation, a source of so many problems, is a priority concern. Thanks to all of its social initiative, PRON has won society's trust which will bear fruit in the future. This is why I have great hopes for the approaching congress in which I am to take part. In my opinion, congress debate will generate decisions that will open up broader possibilities for active involvement of our entire community.

Mieczyslaw Zwolinski, director, Primary School No. 38 in Katowice-Kostuchna, PRON Local Council:

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the approaching congress deliberations in Warsaw. Their task is to adopt fundamental PRON documents, its ideological declaration and statutory principles. It can be safely said that the wisdom of decisions to be made at the congress will represent the wisdom of collective initiatives and activities of first-line PRON activists in local subunits. In effect, these initiatives and specific activities should receive top attention in the pregress campaign and during the congress itself.

I am interested in all the matters affecting the residents' standards of living, conditions of their work, and leisure activities. I can speak about them on the basis of my own work in Kostuchna. There was a time when our Miners' House had an operating movie theater and a common room with many activities and interest groups. Now, because of renovation dragging for years, all activity in that facility is practically dead. We wish that cultural and educational activities there be resumed as soon as possible.

The facility is owned by the mine, which is why we are appealing the mine management to complete the renovation and make the place available to local residents. Our concern is centered on creating conditions conducive to growing interests of youth and adults who are currently unable to find a similar facility. Now, with the adverse results of neglect in youth upbringing coming into plain view, the problem of organizing leisure time is of exceptional importance. I believe we should give it more attention than we have up until now.

The congress, which will terminate the period of transition, will define, it is to be hoped, a program of PRON movement focused on the achievement of national accord and on socialist renewal.

#### PRON - Area of Citizen Activities

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 22 Mar 83 p 2

[Article by (PAP): "Meetings of Sejm Deputy Clubs, PRON--A Domain for Civic Action"]

[Text] Sejm deputies' clubs held their sessions on Mar 21.

#### PZPR Sejm Deputies' Club

Certain issues connected with PRON development were presented by PRON Provisional National Council Secretary General Marian Orzechowski. He emphasized the importance of PRON's original ideas and goals for the entire nation.

Commenting on society's apprehension and hopes connected with this young movement, M. Orzechowski said that because of the many lofty words and declarations we had experienced, it was easy to understand the anxiety about implementation of what the movement was declaring. PRON's hope is to be able to influence the mode of living in Poland and accelerate the country's emergence from a state of crisis. PRON will become a lasting component in Poland's public life and sociopolitical system. This is consistent with the intent of the political forces responsible for the country's fate.

PZPR has drawn conclusions from the political and social crisis in Poland and it views PRON as a vital opportunity for society and the state, according to M. Orzechowski. It would be erroneous to regard the movement as a single-force message for nonparty persons only. While noting that such views are occasionally found, M. Orzechowski stressed that they result from old habits, methods of operation, and a tendency to forget what was the source of post-August crisis. The party has impact in PRON chiefly by the strength of its arguments. It is unimportant how many PZPR members represent the party in PRON. It is important what kind of people they are and what measure of social prestige they enjoy.

PRON is not merely a movement open to nonparty membership. More than anything else, it is a movement of nonparty persons themselves, with all the

consequences of this fact, including their formation of its structure. It is necessary to disseminate and solidify the notion of PRON as an extensive area for action, on even terms, for nonparty citizens, and for competition of differing views as an avenue to consensus. It is necessary to broaden the base of this movement in society, to open it up to workers, young adults, and intelligentsia, including those unpersuaded and doubting who are standing on the sidelines. PRON is a platform for dialogue between different groups and segments of our divided society, a dialogue geared to the strengthening and rectification of our socialist state. At the same time, it is a platform for an encounter and dialogue between the authorities and society.

Referring to the role of the signatories of the 20 July 1982 declaration on PRON, the speaker said it was based on special moral and political accountability for PRON's lines of action. The rule in this case is to respect the identities of the cosignatories, while respecting--without overrating--the issues that continue to be divisive.

Next, deputy Zdzislaw Czeszejko-Sochacki, chairman of the Sejm Commission for Constitutional Accountability, reported on the status of its work:

Vice Premier Janusz Obodowski discussed major problems involved with the 1983-85 drafts of National Socioeconomic Plan and governmental anti-inflation and economizing programs. Basic preconditions for overcoming the crisis, he asserted, are increases in labor productivity and economics in fuel and materials. Draft proposals and documents on economic matters, currently submitted by the government to the Sejm, should provide a point of departure for accelerating the emergence from a state of crisis and for more rapid restoration of Poland's economic life.

During the discussion at the club meeting, emphasis was placed on the need for consistent correlation between increments in profit and in the wage fund, on the one hand, and output in terms of volume and quality, on the other hand.

The club sessions were chaired by Kazimierz Barcikowski.

#### ZSL Sejm Deputy Club

The ZSL meeting, attended by ZSL National Committee President Roman Malinowski and Sejm Speaker Stanislaw Gucwa, focused on issues connected with the implementation of the resolutions of the Joint PZPR CC and ZSL National Committee Plenum last January. The plenum determined PZPR and ZSL tasks in the development of farming and rural areas, and in the country's achievement of self-sufficiency in food, and it outlined the problems affecting NPSG draft assumptions by 1985 including the anti-inflation and economizing programs.

Following the joint plenum, ZSL National Committee presidium member, Jozef Koziol said, specific actions are initiated centrally and in the field. A completed government schedule of implementation of the plenum's resolutions specifies several dozen tasks covering production, economic, investment, supply, organizational, social benefits and financial concerns of the countryside, including procedures and deadlines for their accomplishment.



The 1983-85 draft National Socioeconomic Plan submitted to the Sejm is closely connected with the schedule for implementation of ZSL and PZPR joint plenum resolutions and with a development program for farming and food economy. As emphasized by deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers' Planning Commission Eugeniusz Gorzelak, top priority in this plan is given to national food problems, housing, consumer market supply in first-order goods and staples, and to shielding the segment of population in the lowest income bracket.

A schedule for ZSL Deputy Club for 1983 was also discussed at the session, chaired by Boleslaw Struzek.

#### SD Sejm Deputy Club

In the course of the club's session, attended by SD Central Committee chairman Prof Edward Kowalczyk, the deputies familiarized themselves with basic assumptions of the 1983-85 socioeconomic plan and the government's anti-inflation and economizing program. Club members emphasized housing problems, including single-family construction, preservation of older housing assets, labor productivity and its incentives, employment in the national economy, and welfare concerns in the state policy.

The session of SD Deputy Club, presided over by Jan Fajeci, included debate over Sejm activities during the spring term.

#### Precongress PRON Campaign on Democracy

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 22 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by H.L.: "Comments on Precongress Campaign. Educate Ourselves in Democracy"]

[Text] Programs-elections debate has been going on for nearly a month now in PRON subunits down to the lowest level. PRON activists exchange their views on the movement's functional principles, its position, and tasks in the course of meetings and gmina conferences. Drafts of PRON programmatic declaration and statutory principles are being discussed.

The debate tends to revert to the focal point: What is the PRON movement supposed to become, what issues it should raise, and how it is supposed to do that in order to become a genuine guarantor of democracy providing an effective barrier to recurrent crises? These notes dominate the debate especially in those communities in which PRON is a recent arrival, with no OKON's formed beforehand.

A few days ago, I took part in a gmina PRON convention in Miejsce Piastowe, Krosno Province. Attendance was good. Gmina PRON authorities, delegates to the provincial conference, and local representatives to provincial PRON council were elected. The discussion included a fairly small number of community issues; most centered on the very essence of the movement.

## A Good Deal of Work Ahead of Us

Edward Bis commented: As a sociopolitical movement, PRON is no novelty. It is based on superior values of our nation: the constitution of the Third of May, PPR [Polish Workers Party] declaration, and the PKWN [Polish Committee for National Liberation] Manifesto, an elaboration of a political system for which our grandfathers and greatgrandfathers fought. Yet on the people's fatherland's 40th anniversary, fate took an unkind turn for us. We must be conscious of our errors, so as to commit no more errors in the future. The difficulties must be overcome. The past years have warped democracy, PRON must regenerate it. The people's governance should find its due place, from the smallest communities up, that is to say, from villages.

It is not hard to notice that social initiatives have disappeared from the countryside, that we are experiencing a moral crisis, that a drift to an accord is still missing, and that the effects of improper relations between the citizenry and the authorities are making themselves clearly seen.

Many resolutions, after all, have remained on paper. All things considered, much criticism can be offered on performance quality, and on our bad habits, including alcohol abuse. There is thus much to be done. I believe that the problems I have listed should be, along with others, within the movement's scope of interest. I would give top ranking to the problem of moral crisis which we must overcome. We formed the movement's basic subunit in Tragowiska. Seventeen persons volunteered to work. We expect to enlist other, new people who have a heartfelt concern for the problems I have mentioned. Solutions should be sought, rather than expected to happen by themselves.

We are confronted with the elections work laden with responsibility, for our authorities must be elected in such a manner as to guarantee real, genuine democracy. If this comes true, rebirth will become real.

## There Is No Other Way

The National Remembrance Month is approaching, ZBoWID [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] gmina chief Stanislaw Muszynski said. It is a time for reflection throughout the nation. We ZBoWID members have special reasons for reminding other people. We lived through a national tragedy and we want to protect the younger generation from such an experience.

We, the old ones, believe we are not falling behind. We have a basis for comparison, we can see these things better. We never miss opportunities to remember that other than socialism there is no road for our country, and there is no better guarantee of peace than an alliance with the Soviet Union.

We are alarmed by the course of developments observed in the FRG, where hostile revisionist attempts are made to undermine the stability of Poland's frontiers. Agreements signed by the world's greatest powers are being challenged now in the FRG, after so many years. I believe that they have only one goal--to weaken us even more. We at the ZBoWID are aware of this. It is necessary for

the entire movement to join our vocal protest because, after all, it is a political movement as well.

Moreover, PRON must forcefully support any and all justified initiative of society. We do not wish to be a substitute for the political parties or the administration, but we should be an important component of control on behalf of society: we should shield and protect the interests and rights of all citizens.

#### We Gain More Members Every Day

We gain new members every day, and new components are added, TRW PRON member from Krosno Jan Przystasz said. Our movement intends to be guided by minds and hearts. Our concept is to reach consensus and a socialist renewal of society and the state, which is a process, rather than a single act. We must all educate ourselves in democracy. We want neither to replace the authorities nor to become their proxy, we wish to be their partner in society. This is an unacceptable situation with rural residents showing completely no interest and never venturing beyond their village fences. It is necessary to join in and to overcome the difficulties, which is precisely the essence of partnership. Our concern is with handling, for the sake of individual communities, both major and minor issues impinging on democratization of the country, as well as with small daily interpersonal problems between neighbors within a community.

We want our program to allow room for action and satisfaction to all participants in our movement. It is not from day to day that we will emerge from the crisis. We must patiently bore through the wall of apathy and ignorance. It will not be easy to reach those who want to shut themselves off in isolation, but it is necessary to understand, too, that individuals must experience some doubts, and their response does not come instantaneously. We Poles, people of different views, are linked by an overriding concern for the nation. We must have the courage to counter false prophets. We want concerted action of the authorities and society to make the country's way out of the crisis rapidly.

It should be openly admitted that the authorities are in an unenviable role. They are unable to promise much, conversely, the anti-inflation program involves a multitude of unpopular decisions, as we know. We must jointly cope with the difficulties. The attitudes of all PRON activists will determine what we stand for. The congress cannot settle everything, so our own focus should be on action and accomplishment.

#### Extensiveness of PRON Campaign

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 22 Mar 83 pp 1-2

[Article by PAP: "Precongress PRON Campaign. Increasing Scope of the Movement's Impact"]

[Text] Precongress debate proceeds in every province, both in PRON councils' sessions and electoral conferences, and in the press.

A meeting of PRON temporary council chairmen, held in Warsaw on 21 March 1983, was devoted to evaluation of advances in the programs-elections campaign and to preparations for the PRON Congress. Main conclusions resulting to date from the campaign were presented by TRK [Temporary National Council] PRON Vice Chairman Jerzy Ozdowski who presided over the meeting.

As pointed out during the discussion, pregress meetings and sessions are raising the country's major political and socioeconomic problems. There is confirmation that the draft PRON ideological declaration constitutes a good platform for achievement of national accord and is accepted by an overwhelming majority of communities. According to PRON activists, both the draft and proposed statute principles are insufficiently disseminated and popularized in society.

In meetings organized on the initiative of local PRON subunits, much attention is devoted to possibilities of solution to daily problems besetting citizens and communities, and to mobilization of social forces to overcome the difficulties.

Specific accomplishments and the movement's achievements, especially those of its earliest instrumentalities, the OKON's, are being presented along with new initiatives. It is pointed out that attention and broader dissemination should be given to local PRON units' practice of developing their own operational programs, allowing for interests and aspirations of individual communities along with methods for handling numerous common living concerns.

The progress of the programmatic campaign indicates enhancement of PRON's prestige and its range of impact in society. Additional individuals, social organizations, and communities are declaring their willingness to participate in PRON-launched undertakings, and to accept the movement's ideological assumptions and future lines of action. According to those participating in the Warsaw meeting, representatives of intellectual, creative and youth communities are not numerous enough in PRON. Expansion and consolidation of PRON activities in work establishments are indispensable as well. Also, there is disturbingly little interest in economic reform on the part of the audiences of PRON-organized meetings.

The pregress campaign is at its midpoint. Meetings in local PRON units are about to be completed, and soon provincial conventions will start to elect most delegates to the May congress. Some have already been selected in PRON local units. They are individuals who have distinguished themselves by their social activism and exemplary professional performance.

Much of the discussion was focused on the problems of organization and agenda for the congress. For instance, controversies arose with regard to principles of election of the future PRON National Council members. According to a proposal of the organizing committee, 200 members of that council should be elected at PRON provincial conventions, approximately 80 should be selected among the membership of organizations which declared their enlistment in the PRON movement and 120 would be elected by the congress. This proposal

generates diverse implications, both accepted and questioned by PRON activists. It was concertedly affirmed, however, that the future PRON National Council must include representatives of all provinces, signatories of the 20 July 1982 declaration, and most social organizations that have joined the movement.

As the participants repeatedly stated, the First National PRON Congress must be preceded by appropriate preparations, so that it will assure opportunities for all province delegates to take the floor, running smoothly on schedule 7-9 May 1983.

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PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES NOTED

Skarzysko PRON Activities Described

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 7 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Chrobot]

[Text] It must have set a precedent for the nation. The Skarzysko PRON activists say: "Until 14 September of last year we were a City Citizens' Committee for National Rebirth, half of whose members were also National Unity Front activists. We decided there was no need for this duplication so we convened a meeting during which a resolution stating that we were merging into one social organization under the name of City Citizens' Committee for National Rebirth [MOKON], was undertaken."

The Skarzysko OKON formed itself in the beginning of February of last year. Stanislaw Jarzebinski, a retired engineer and a longtime director of the local Metal Works became its head. Today people call him "an ardent advocate for the national rebirth movement, involved in the problems of the city and its residents; a person with authority, who can win people even though there are still many who are not convinced by the idea of understanding." Nevertheless, the number of its followers is growing. One of them is Piotr Nowak, a retired priest, member of the PRON City Council Presidium. He said in a conversation: "When asked to join the work in the patriotic movement, I agreed. I thought 'Perhaps I can be still useful, despite my age, in whatever is good for Poland and the Poles.'"

In Skarzysko there presently are 45 enterprises and city district OKON and PRON cells, which include over 5000 people. The most numerous group is made of workers, ZBoWiD [Association of Combatants for Liberty and Democracy] members, and activists of housing development committees. There still are too few young people. Recently, 40 teachers from the Vocational Schools Assembly No. 1 and 28 teachers from the Technology and Science High School actively joined the PRON.

What attracted them to the organization? "The fact that we are service-oriented. We solve the problems which make the daily existence of many

people difficult," was the answer. This statement does not reflect or exhaust the full picture of the activities of the Skarzysko PRON. In the register of problems reported to the City Council, there were over 400 complaints, signals and interventions. Mostly they concerned difficult housing conditions, poor functioning of commerce and services, the issues of waste and order in the city. The work of the so called intervention assemblies met with considerable approval. Half of the problems noted have been solved positively with the help, of course, of the city authorities and various institutions. Let us present at least some examples:

--The housing situation for 44 families has been improved. How was it possible under the conditions of great shortages of living quarters? Well, some empty quarters were adapted, and a few people whose family situation was down right tragic, had the waiting period for a cooperative apartment shortened.

--Many criticisms concerned the functioning of commerce, and 62 of the motions have been followed up on. Among other things, customers proposed that the hours of opening and closing the stores be changed, and goods be sold on a more just basis. It does not mean that commerce in Skarzysko is already working well. Residents continue to complain about the bad quality of bread, especially the products baked during the night shift. The quality of smoked meats fares no better.

--Preschool No 1 in Rynek Street, the city district of Dolna Kamienna, had a gas hook-up installed but was not able to use it. The installation was not connected to the city grid because 80 meters of pipe were missing. As it appeared later, retirees found the needed pipes in various places in the city, mostly abandoned by builders. A list of building materials that were going to waste was made. No one claimed them so they were used for, among other things, building the grid to lead gas to the aforementioned preschool building. "This way, the situation of this educational post has improved, and we have satisfaction and a letter of thanks," says Stanislaw Jarzebinski.

--Another example: the construction of a pavilion to which the hospital administration was to be moved had been dragging on for nearly 10 years. In the quarters they would vacate, the urology division was to be settled. The pavilion's construction was being delayed because the building materials were being systematically stolen. Only the intervention of activists from the City Citizens' Committee for National Rebirth brought results. Those responsible for the described disarray were punished and the tempo of the construction quickened. In December of last year it was turned over for use.

--Anna Odzienkowska, secretary of the PRON City Council, deputy president of the ZM ZSMP, talks about another initiative: "We received a warning from residents that the house on the corner of Mickiewicz and Tysiaclecie Streets was marked for destruction. Supposedly it was no longer suitable for use. We assigned a PRON commission, which after a site inspection and expert diagnosis made a totally different pronouncement: the house was suitable for repair and further habitation. We first thought of turning the building over to the members of the ZSMP cell at the Kamienna Iron Foundry and Enamel Shop, but now plans have changed somewhat and we are thinking of adding a second wing to the

building, with the help of work enterprises, and create there a dozen or more rotation apartments."

Someone may ask: Why should the PRON actually take up such issues? After all, it is the job of offices, institutions, city councillors, and housing development committees. The answer is simple: this new movement was born out of the social need for renewal, rebirth and repair of the republic in its socialist form. And this applies to every sphere of our life, every group, every city or small town, city district or housing colony. Thus life itself composes a plan for the PRON. The example of the Skarzysko organization shows that something completely new is being born, namely a movement to which superficiality and helplessness are alien. This is proven by 200 citizens' problems solved in the course of the PRON's short activity. "This also permits us," says Stanislaw Jarzebinski, "to ask such questions as: 'Gentlemen bureaucrats, why are you able to solve these problems now, and were not able to do it before? Gentlemen councillors, why don't you notice the residents' ills?'"

In these concrete initiatives, PRON activists also express patriotism, understood as an effective and creative attitude. It was precisely this effectiveness that Poles often lacked. The Skarzysko PRON members have therefore been concerned about the movement's future. They expressed this concern at a recent regional conference. "The movement's strength," said Romuald Dietrich, "will depend on the amount of social energy accumulated today and in the future. How this energy will be used is also important." Another speaker, Henryk Papinski, referred to the PKWN [Polish Committee of National Liberation] Manifesto: "The contents of that document, after its publication, reached every Polish family and the heart of every patriot, in spite of adversaries and opposition. So far, this strength is missing in the movement of national rebirth which is being formed. For this reason, its ideological and programmatic declaration cannot consist of wishful thinking, both on the part of the authorities and of society. It must be an understandable and clear document, so that its contents are convincing for Poles who desire understanding, particularly the young people."

The Skarzysko PRON is building its authority by solving concrete problems. Its members have also proved that helplessness and make-believe activity are alien to them.

#### Krosno, Tarnobrzeg PRON Congresses

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 7 Apr 83 pp 1-2

[Article by (b, reb).)]

[Text] (Own information) The success and assuring of national accord is the key condition for overcoming the crisis in our country. This basic truth lies at the foundation of the birth of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. The idea for this movement already in the middle of December 1981 found its champions also in [the region of] Podkarpacie.



The PRON program-elections campaign, which was taking place in the past few weeks, is another positive impulse for further strengthening of this movement in Krosno Province, and broadening its social base. In the course of this campaign, a number of motions were formulated regarding the PRON declaration and statutory principles project, as well as directions of practical actions developed in particular centers. A debate accompanying yesterday's deliberations of the first provincial PRON congress in Krosno, helped to enrich the discussion taking place in the region, and to systematize the proposals submitted. In the congress, which was opened by Jozef Kusiba, president of the Voivodship Temporary PRON Council, among others, 237 delegates elected at city and gmina conferences participated. The National PRON Council [TKR] was represented by Wincenty Lewandowski, vice president of the TRK. Also participating in the congress were: representatives of the voivodship organizations--signatories of the July PRON declaration: Jan Luczynski, the KW PZPR secretary, Eugeniusz Plesniak, chairman of the WK ZSL, Jan Trzemalski, secretary of the WK SD and Saturnin Zajdel, president of the PAX division. Also present was the Krosno, Tadeusz Kruk.

The report containing the evaluation of the pregress work in the province was delivered by the WTR PRON vice president, Feliks Leniart.

The idea of accord--it was stressed in the report--was born in the period of deep agitations and divisions. It grew out of good and bad experiences, successes and failures; from the deep need to build socialism as the work of millions, of all the working people. The purpose of the movement, therefore, is, among other things, the striving for a common overcoming of the crisis by deepening and developing the socialist contents of social life; that is, social justice, tolerance, and people's power. Into the forefront of PRON activity in Podkarpacie, said Feliks Leniart, have come the undertakings serving the popularization of these purposes and the movement's tasks, and winning the support of the whole of the population to the movement. The pregress campaign also proved that the problems of particular milieux and issues requiring prompt solutions have taken up much of the activity of the regional PRON cells. Expressing a positive opinion on the project of the declaration and statutory principles, the necessity to combine the idea of national accord with the principles of socialist democracy was emphasized at numerous meetings. Thus at the PRON assembly, the need for broad social consultation in key issues and the development of the movement's controlling functions, among other things, were emphasized as expressing the movement's credibility. For, as it was stated in the course of meetings and conferences, the PRON does not constitute the authorities or is it their tool; rather it is to be their worthy partner, representing social opinion, signaling dangers and perils, and proposing solutions to given problems. The pregress discussion in Podkarpacie, the WTR vice president said in conclusion, demonstrated that the PRON is needed, that only an accord is a realistic possibility and condition for the efforts aimed at overcoming the crisis.

The following took the floor during the discussion: Aleksander Czerniawy, president of the City Council in Sanok, Ryszard Szczurek, member of the Temporary Gmina Council in Tarnowiec, Marian Adamik, member of the Temporary

City-Gmina Council in Brzozow, Jerzy Kotowicz, member of the Temporary City Council in Krosno, Andrzej Ornat, member of the Temporary City-Gmina Council in Zagorz, Jan Luczynski, the KW PZPR secretary in Krosno, Adam Wydro from Jaslo, the TRW member in Kros, Zdzislaw Trynkiewicz, president of the City-Gmina Council in Dukla, Romaana Zola, vice president of the ZW LKP, Andrzej Godzinski, member of the Temporary Gmina Council in Zarszyn, Wacław Pietrzak, member of the Temporary Gmina Council in Dukla, Zbigniew Hawliczek, vice president of the Temporary Gmina Council in Biecz, Jerzy Czyzewski, the WTR in Krosno, a sanatorium director in Iwonicz Zdroj, Stanislaw Pomproicz, the City Council member in Krosno, Zbigniew Braja, the WTR member, ZW ZSMP president, and Wincenty Lewandowski, vice president of the PRON Temporary National Council.

"Our movement," said the discussion participants, "wants to be the spokesman for all social milieux. Our chance is in reformatory undertakings on behalf of socialist renewal, in the organization and expression of public opinion, in the democratization of the methods of executing power, in the actions serving moral and civic renewal. This chance must be used to the full."

In this context, the PRON activists evaluated very negatively the present system of social consultations. "We must specify," they pointed out, "the subjects on which broad public opinion must be consulted each time before the administrative authorities undertake final decisions. Representatives of the PRON cells should definitely participate in these consultations. Thus a proposal regarding frequent meeting and contacts with the movement's regional structures representatives, made during the congress by a representative of the region's political and administrative authorities, was received positively."

The pressure of the problems of daily living is overwhelming. Thus it is no wonder that the OKON activists tackle a number of local questions concerning the particular milieux. The participants in the deliberations also pointed out PRON tasks in shaping social views. "We want to influence," they said, "the attitudes of both those who wield power and the attitudes of citizens."

In the open elections, the congress gave mandates to the national congress to 14 PRON delegates. These are: Edward Bara, president of the PRON Gmina Council in Nowy Zmigrod and WTR member; Eugeniusz Betkowski, farmer from the Zarszyn Gmina, member of the movement's Gmina Council presidium; Elzbieta Gierut, farmer from Trzcinica, Jaslo Gmina, member of the PRON Temporary Gmina Council; Kazimierz Grzesiek, white collar worker, president of the PRON City-Gmina Council in Biecz, member of the WTR PRON Presidium; Bronislaw Jagielczuk, president of the City-Gmina Council in Ustrzyki Dolne, member of the WTR Presidium; Wladyslaw Kandefer, sculptor, president of the PRON City-Gmina Council in Iwonicz, WTR member; Witold Krowka, white collar worker, member of the PRON City-Gmina Council in Dukla; Zdzislaw Michnik, director of the WPT BIESZCZADY, president of the PRON City-Gmina Council in Lesko, WTR PRON member; Edward Nowak, member of the City-Gmina Council in Jedlicz; Alicja Myrdek, teacher from Lublica, member of the PRON Gmina Council Convention in Kolaczyce; Zofia Rekas, pharmacist, vice president of the PRON Gmina Council in Korczyn; Michal Skrzypek, WOP [Frontier Guards] post commander, vice president of the PRON Gmina Council in Lutowska; Ryszard Szczurek, director of the INCO

Husbandry Works in Tarnowiec, member of the PRON Gmina Council Presidium in Tarnowiec; and Antoni Dzula, lathe operator in the SKR Nozdrzec, president of the PRON Temporary Gmina Council, WTR member.

Earlier, already in the course of city conferences, the following members received the delegate mandates: Zygmunt Rygiel, president of the City Council in Krosno; Adam Wydro, ZHP activist from Jaslo, WTR member; Maksymilian Dabrowski, vice president of the PRON Temporary City Council in Brzozow; Edward Sikorski, president of the PRON Temporary City Council in Sanok. The following Temporary National Council members will also participate in the congress with full rights: Kazimierz Gocek, worker from the AUTOSAN Sanok Bus Factory; Mieczyslaw Jasinski, worker from the GAMRAT Plastic Works; Jozef Kusiba, the WTR president; Feliks Leniart, the WTR vice president; and Bronislaw Szajna, farmer from the Rymanow Gmina, vice president of the City-Gmina Council.

In conformity with the TRK settlements, the congress selected three members of the PRON National Council from Krosno Province. These are: Jozef Kusiba, Feliks Leniart, and Edward Sikorski. The congress took a stand in the question of the declaration and "statutory principles" of the PRON, and formulated concrete motions, addenda or changes to these documents.

The participants of the PRON Voivodship Congress in Krosno, in a special message to the National Front Committee of the east Slovak province in Koszyce [CSRS] stressed, among other things, "We express the convictions that we need permanent, mutual contacts and current exchange of experiences in the work on behalf of building socialism in our countries."

On the other hand, in the unanimous appeal, directed to all the PRON cells and councils and to all the residents of the Krosno province, the congress participants stated: "Bearing in mind the spilled blood, mothers and innocent children's tears, the orphans, cripples and tragedy which war brings, let us stand in the first ranks of determined peace-fighters. By our daily, creative work and our determined attitude, let us oppose any attempts to wind the spiral of armaments promoted by the imperialist politicians (...) we demand an end to the production of the arms of mass annihilation and the means for their transport. We support the peaceful policy of the socialist camp, with the Soviet Union at its forefront. Let us do everything to allow peace to become a common and permanent property of the inhabitants of our globe."

In Tarnobrzeg

With the participation of over 300 delegates, and the following representatives of voivodship authorities, political parties, and organizations-signatories of the movement: the KW PZPR secretary Tadeusz Jarocki, the WK ZSL chairman Wladyslaw Gawlik, the WK SD president Marian Kasproicz, the WRN president Adam Przybylski, and Col Boguslaw Jazwiec, the provincial congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth deliberated yesterday in Tarnobrzeg. Jozef Pietrzak was elected the chairman of the deliberations.

The report introducing the discussion was read by the president of the PRON Temporary Voivodship Coordinating Council, delegate to the Polish Sejm, Jan

Kaczorowski. He stated that, among other things, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth's aim is to broaden the social base of cogoverning and is a manifestation of the sociopolitical activization of wide circles of society. Its purposes are, among other things, to widen the areas of society's impact on authorities, and to energize and democratize the political system of socialism. It also is a movement which will verify the credibility of the authorities, create organizational forms for the accord of social and political forces, and coordinate the common goals, undertakings and social mediations as well as be a platform for cooperation in the realization of these goals.

Against the background of what is presently happening in Tarnobrzeg Province, the speaker formulated the thesis that within the framework of the cooperation, discussions, and exchange of views, a movement that is autonomous, independent and has its own specific tasks and methods of action, is being born. It is not widespread yet, nevertheless it is gaining continuously broader support from a large part of society, which is its potential base.

He emphasized that the conditions for building this movement are conformity with the basic interests and intentions of its participants in overcoming any divisions, the permanence and inviolability of the foundations of the socialist system, during the implementation of the processes of modernizing the state and recognizing the partnership and joint responsibility of the movement's participants.

In Tarnobrzeg Province, the PRON bands together already 9.5 thousand members organized in 320 basic cells and 95 initiating groups. Additionally it is supported by over 12,000 members of various organizations, associations and unions which declared a collective accession to the movement. Among them are farmers and workers, youth and retirees, members of political parties and nonparty people, lay Catholics and clergy. Already 55 gmina, city-gmina, and city councils of the PRON are functioning. The movement's cells are also active in all the larger work enterprises of this region.

Recently at the center of their attention were also, among other things, actions aimed at rebuilding society's unity, and the following issues: order and security in villages and housing settlements, the struggle against mismanagement and dishonesty, the problems of commerce, services and distribution of goods in short supply, actions on behalf of regaining secondary raw materials, the state of enterprises' preparations for the winter (particularly the municipal and heat plants), fighting speculation and parasitism, just distribution of farming machines and building materials, the issues of social infrastructure and environmental protection, organizing help for crippled, ill, or elderly people, agricultural cultivation of wastelands, opening a province pharmacy with foreign drugs and sale of orthopedic shoes, creating a "bank" of help for schools, nurseries and preschools, which would provide services in maintenance and produce uncomplicated teaching aids.

The PRON aktiv participated also in consultations on socioeconomic plans for cities and gminas, and now coacts in an extensive inspection action under the cryptonym "Posesja" [Estate], whose goal is to improve radically the esthetics of cities, residential areas and farming communities, as well as enterprises and institutions.

In the future the PRON cells will continue to occupy themselves with solving the problems essential to each milieu, and at the same time focus on less vital matters and problems of private citizens.

The provincial congress ended the precongress campaign in Tarnobrzeg Province, which served to popularize further the ideas and contents of the PRON, broaden its social base, expand its organizational structures, discuss the projects of the movement's declaration and statute, and elect delegates to the National Congress and to national leadership.

The participants of meetings, which took place in village administrator's offices, housing settlements and cities, as well as delegates to regional councils elected by them, submitted many amendments and specifications to the projects of the PRON declaration and statute, and tackled many important problems not included in those documents. They demanded, for example, expanding the role of city councils and regional self-management in relations with regional and economic state administration, working out a new electoral law of the Sejm and city councils, the project of which ought to be consulted with the PRON, vote on the statute on social consultations, speedy termination of work on the statute of the constitutional tribunal, strengthening the system of institutions guaranteeing the inviolability of civic rights, popularizing political culture and the knowledge of state matters among citizens, and dissemination of economic knowledge and full, honest historical knowledge.

The following speakers took the floor during the congress discussion: Jan Klasura, chairman of the Aldermen Council of the Voivodship Court in Sandomierz; Jerzy Augustyn, president of the ZZ ZSMP in STALOWA WOLA Steelworks, member of the PRON Temporary National Council; Marian Bryla, first secretary of the KG PZPR, delegate from Grebow; Jan Kosik, craftsman, delegate from Staszow; Wladyslaw Antosiewicz, retiree, Pax activist from Tarnobrzeg; Ryszard Kozik, employee of the Sulfur Mining and Processing Enterprise [KIZPS] in Tarnobrzeg; Grazyna Soltyk, farmer from Lubnice, PRON Temporary National Council member; and Marian Kolasa, activist of the Polish Catholic-Social Union from Stalowa Wola.

The discussion was productive and multifaceted, reflecting the problems undertaken by the PRON and expressing hopes connected with the development and strengthening of this movement. Thus there was talk about the need for shaping citizens' active attitude to the actions of state organs, approving purposeful and just moves, and public criticism of immature ones, incompatible with broadly understood social interest. The need for the movement's participation in shaping an all-national electoral platform and electoral programs, and for taking part in selecting candidates for deputies and councillors as well as recalling them, was pointed out. The need for public polls by the PRON and for granting it rights to evaluate and give council on legal acts, was brought up. Expanding possibilities for undertaking collective actions by those who wish to improve living conditions in city districts, workplace, or villages, fight social ills, particularly alcoholism, and strengthen humanistic moral and civic attitudes, was found necessary. Finally, it was emphasized that the PRO ought to acquire a clear and understandable legal form and its status ought to be

defined in the constitution and ought to be better developed and more specific than it was in the case of the National Unity Front. It was declared most forcefully that national accord ought to be focused around the great issue of the reform in the state and the state reform, while the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth ought to be the architect of this accord.

The congress participants recommended in open voting the following people for the PRON National Congress: Jozef Pietrzak from Tarnobrzeg; Pawel Trzaska, farmer from Sandomierz; Tadeusz Czuba, high school director in Janow Lubelski; Barbara Stepniowska, teacher from Staszow; and Franciszek Sycz from Nisko. Representatives of political parties and organizer-signatories of the movement were also elected to the congress: Janusz Basiak, Wladyslaw Antosiewicz, Tadeusz Wojteczka, and Janusz Jurys. Also present TRK PRON members: Jerzy Augustyn, Tadeusz Bajkowski, and Grazyna Soltyk, will take part in the congress.

During open election to the PRON national leadership the delegates recommended: Jerzy Augustyn, Tadeusz Bajkowski, and Grazyna Soltyk.

Earlier, during the PRON regional councils which took place in Tarnobrzeg, Stalowa Wola, Sandomierz, Janow Lubelski, Opatow, Staszow, and Nisko, the following people were elected to the national congress of the movement: Mieczyslaw Biernat, Eugeniusz Durda, Karol Slomka, Jozef Bak, Zygmunt Garbacz, Edward Walachowski, Tadeusz Chmielnicki, Tadeusz Zaroda, Helena Wesolowska, Irena Batugowska, Marian Cwintal, Jan Kowalski, and Mieczyslaw Siara.

The congress participants selected the 105-member PRON Voivodship Council which included, somewhat ex officio, 55 regional (gmina, city-gmina, and city) presidents of the movement. Next the election for the post of the PRON Voivodship Council president took place. This function was unanimously turned over to the present deputy president of the PRON Temporary Coordinational Council, Pax activist from Sandomierz, Tadeusz Bajkowski.

At the first session of the PRON Voivodship Council, a 21-member presidium was selected. The council has made an appeal to the region's residents in which it calls for national accord and for activization of all spheres of social and economic life.

#### Comments of PRON Congress Participants

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 9-10 Apr 83 pp 1-2

[Article by J.W.]

[Text] Halina Szotowska, economist from the PSTROWSKI Mine, president of the PRON City-District Committee in Zabrze-Biskupice: "Although the discussion over the projects of our movement documents is still going on, we can already say today what people are most concerned about. In our district keenest interest is expressed in the questions of order and public security. In a city district that has 14,000 people, namely as many as used to live in a town ranking formerly as a county seat, there is no MO post. The nearest police station is 8 km away from the district.

"In conversations at meetings the subject of environmental protection also recurs. We believe there is particularly much to be done in this sphere. We understand that necessary funds are lacking and that big investments are impossible. We do not even want those investments, because all we need are small managerial moves.

"As can be seen then, there is no lack of minor difficulties. The goal which we set for ourselves is removing these difficulties. I believe that for the future of our movement the important thing is to draw young people to our program. We are trying to organize cultural life for them, create various proposals for spending their leisure time productively."

Wladyslaw Zejer, retiree, president of PRON City Council in Katowice: "The major interests of the PRON ought to lie in the areas of social problems, practical action on behalf of improving the living conditions of the residents of large industrial agglomerations. With what problems do people come to us? They come with suggestions regarding, mainly, living conditions in a large city, they complain about lack of housing, inefficient functioning of the commerce and services, unreliable transportation; they submit postulates connected with protecting the natural environment. The Upper Silesia Industrial District is a particularly damaged environment, therefore it is necessary to halt its further degradation. We are aware of the fact that in crisis conditions it is a task which is difficult to carry out, nevertheless, with the aid of work enterprises, there are real possibilities of improving ecological conditions. It is our ambition to undertake these problems and contribute to their positive solution."

#### Poznan Province PRON Congress

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 9-10 Apr 83 pp 1-2

[Article by A. L.: "Expectations Supported by Realistic Thinking"]

[Text] What do delegates from various Poznan milieux expect from the first provincial congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, beginning its deliberations today in Poznan?

Jadwiga Frankenberg, secretary of the Citizens' Committee for National Accord, operating in the Stare Miasto city district: "Our committee was created at the turn of 1981/1982. We organized it ourselves, giving it the will to act. Among us are scientists, lawyers, farmers, and representatives of many other milieux. Such wide social representation and, what follows it, multiplicity of tasks and views, allows me to think that the willingness for action aimed at improving our situation is widespread. This willingness is, however, somewhat intuitive: we know that we must act, but we do not know yet how.

"We have offered our participation in the PRON, where we retain certain autonomy which is an expression of our own initiative. I think however that the time has come to join ranks in a more cohesive front of action. OKON's and their city district agencies or committees such as ours, were good at a certain stage. They were able to solve a number of problems which were minor yet

troublesome because of their bulk. The OKON's were a particular bureau of complaints and grievances. It should not be so, however. Now when the social situation has stabilized, when various competent organs have started to function normally again, we must take up general problems. I think that in such action, the PRON can count on social acceptance and on fulfilling its mission. I see its role as a certain go-between and mediator between society and various types of decisionmaking actors. It should, for example, voice its opinion on the subject of the distribution of funds: whether they should be distributed among the city and region proportionally to their production; they should take up the elaboration of the democratic electoral law and working out of the mechanisms of social control. I think that these are widespread feelings which will find their expression in the program of the congress."

Mieczyslaw Filas, physician, the PRON City-District Council in Jezyce: "What do I expect from the congress? Another step in the direction of national accord. If this is to take place, we must create conditions for everybody to be able to communicate with everybody else. Our movement ought to become a platform for a wide exchange of opinions, including those that are polemical. Everybody ought to have the right to present their view, and the PRON's authority ought to consist in convincing society of the best solutions.

"We have so far been occupying ourselves with many issues of daily living, problems of youth and the elderly. Life continuously brings new, minor and major adversities. I think that we must not lose those apparently minor ones from our sight.

"As a physician I particularly care for development of our health service, for broadening its base of facilities, fuller protection of the elderly, children, and life's victims. I think that our movement can do a lot of good in this area by activating numerous social groups, for example the youth.

"I consider the problems of the young to be very urgent. In our city district we propagate and try to facilitate for the young the initiative of one-family home building. We are not indifferent either to the problems of environmental protection, orderliness and order.

"The opinion that the PRON programmatic declaration basically includes all significant elements of counteracting the crisis, social insensitivity and indifference to common issues, is generally held. The congress certainly will specify this program, and perhaps will correct some of the formulations, nevertheless I think that the line of action which has already been drawn will be kept."

Henryk Przybylski, youth activist, the PRON City-District Council in Wilda: "I think that today's congress will take a position on three basic issues: concretization of the program of action in the region, evaluation of the degree of normalization of social relations, and expressing its opinion on the general state policy.

"The discussion will certainly be animated. Various social groups have their problems and experiences and will want to present them. Not a single voice in



important issues escapes us. It is necessary that our ideas find their way to a wider body of people. Everyone should find a reflection of his own thoughts in our program, which certainly will bring in more followers to the movement. As a representative of the young generation, I expect that the congress will take up the problems of young people. I do not think however that society ought to be divided by the age criterion. Social policy ought to be cohesive, otherwise--some people will be better off at the cost of others.

"There will certainly be many differences of opinion, for the PRON is not only a platform for expressing opinion, but also a common place for citizens' education. It will be more so, the more citizens decide to participate in it. We must remain an open movement, retaining the autonomy of particular cells. I think the congress will emphasize it."

#### Katowice PRON Plenary Session

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 11 Apr 83 pp 1, 4

[Article by JAD: "Work for Poland Ought to Unite All Poles"]

[Text] In less than a month the First Congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth will take place in Warsaw. In Katowice Province the first stage of preparations for this moment so important in the development of the movement has come to an end. At dozens of meetings, evaluations and summing up of the present achievements of the Rebirth Movement were made, 152 participants to the congress were elected and projects for the basic PRON documents discussed. Last Saturday a plenary session of the PRON Voivodship Committee took place in Katowice, in which presidents of all cells of the movement, the congress participants, and representatives of social organizations and the FJN, took place.

The plenum guests included: members of CC Politburo; first secretary of the KW PZPR in Katowice, Zbigniew Messner; coal miner from the Siemianowice mine, Jerzy Romanik; chairman of the WK SD, Jerzy Jozwiak; secretary of the WK ZSL, Jan Gregorczyk; chairman of the Voivodship Division Board of Pax, Jan Waleczek; chairman of the Voivodship Division of the Polish Catholic-Social Union, Rudolf Buchala; the Katowice deputy, Jozef Zbieszczczyk; and chief of the Voivodship Military Staff, Brig Gen Jan Lazarczyk. The deliberations were presided over by PRON Temporary National Council Presidium member, chairman of the WK PRON in Katowice, Dr Wieslaw Nowicki, and member of the said presidium, Marianna Skrzypek.

The report of the WK PRON Presidium, delivered by Wlodzimierz Wleciala, deputy chairman of the WK PRON, introduced the discussion: "In the service of the nation, in the service of the socialist motherland, the social origins of the rebirth movement have been recalled. For the movement is an answer to the general need and a will of rebirth, national accord and democratic repair of the republic. It creates a political possibility for action for all citizens who wish to improve and strengthen the sovereign, independent, socialist Polish state. The PRON acts on behalf of the practical realization of the idea of people's power, strengthening society's political subjectivity. The process

continues of working out the model of action and structures of this social movement which in its activity will take on both the major and the minor, daily matters. The projects of the 'Declaration' and the 'Statutory Rules,' presented by the PRON Temporary Council, met with the great interest of the movement members in Katowice Province. The fact of submitting them to public discussion was received as a symptom of the democratic trend of the Movement for National Rebirth, of its program and methods of action. During discussion over these documents at more than 320 meetings, about 8,500 PRON cells activists voiced their opinion, approving their basic formulation."

In the plenary discussion the following speakers took the floor: Anna Brzezinska, president of the PRON Enterprise Committee in the Automobile Transportation Works of the KATOWICE Steel Plant; Jozef Nowak, president of the PRON City Committee in Pyskowice, Catholic activist; Jan Wozniak, commander of the Katowice ZHP Council; Stanislaw Sowula, president of the PRON Enterprise Committee in the Voivodship Housing Cooperativeness Union; Dr Wladyslaw Zejer, president of the PRON City Council in Katowice; Leonard Woznica, PRON member from Sucha Gora; Marian Lange, PRON member from Katowice-Szopienice; Henryk Machnik, PRON member from Wodzislaw; and Maj Slawomir Zurawlow, PRON City Committee member in Gliwice. Two voices were submitted to the protocol.

#### Multiple-Subject Discussion

The discussion covered many subjects and concerned, among other things, our movement's methods of exercising influence and its place in our country's political landscape. The necessity of strengthening the movement at work enterprises and expanding it more than hitherto to working class milieux, was strongly emphasized. At work enterprises it cannot replace other organizations in action, but ought to be a platform on which every employee could voice his opinion on issues bothering him. For example, he could discuss the progress of statutes under preparation in the Sejm, have a moral right to evaluate all his supervisors, and a right to nominate candidates for councillors and deputies. In the PRON cells active at workplaces, workers' opinions should formulate themselves. The necessity for energetically counteracting the moral crisis which generates pathological social results--drunkenness, alcoholism, and delinquency--was also brought up in the discussion. Particular attention ought to be paid to reconstructing the work ethic as one of the ways for the state's recovery. The place in the Rebirth Movement for youth, which ought to be patiently and consistently drawn into it, as the PRON is a movement for all generations, was pondered. The movement ought to be a front for civic activity by the youth. As it was emphasized, the Rebirth Movement should play the role of an authentic, social connection between the authorities and society. In order to achieve that, one should not hold an office both in the PRON and in the state apparatus. The movement ought to base itself exclusively on social action, no opportunities should find a place in it for themselves.

#### In the Name of the Signatories

On behalf of the signatories of the declaration of July 20, 1982--the PZPR, ZSL, SD, Pax Association, ChSS, and PZKS, as well as invited guests, the first secretary of the KW PZPR in Katowice, Zbigniew Messner, took the floor: "In

the service of the nation, in the service of the socialist motherland"--both of these slogans reflect the goal to which PRON activity is subordinated. This goal is also the practical realization of the 9th PZPR Congress Resolution, in which the need for creating an organization that would include Poles regardless of party membership or creed, was signaled. The way out of the crisis is only through a strong, well-organized state. The PRON already is a permanent and authentic phenomenon in Poland and will serve the socialist motherland. It can never become a facade organization but must be social and authentic. It must not make the mistakes which were committed by the FJN--despite all its recognized merits. New allies for the Movement for National Rebirth must continuously be sought among those who still are standing aside and hesitating; the PRON must be open for all of them. Only within the framework of socialist democracy can society correctly develop. Therefore, this democracy must be strengthened. An authentic social Movement which the PRON is, ought to involve itself actively in the celebrations of Labor Day--1 May--because only by solid and honest work can our motherland be led out of crisis. The Movement for Patriotic Rebirth also ought to act as patron of the 3 May celebrations.

Since the plenum is summing up the period of the precongress campaign, this is an opportunity to thank all those who were the first and in our area had the courage in the extremely difficult political and social situation of the time, to initiate this movement. The words of acknowledgement and thanks are due them for their social dedication and initiatives which are of such great importance. On behalf of the signatories of the declaration, Zbigniew Messner wished the congress participants representing Katowice Province that theirs be a permanent contribution to the development of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth and that they always bear in mind that Poland's future is in socialism, which can be built only by continuous work.

The discussion continued in workshops. In the workshop on the declaration and the PRON program, presided over by Dr Gizela Pawlowska, member of the PRON Temporary National Council, 10 speakers took the floor. In the workshop on the statute and principles of PRON functioning, presided over by TRK PRON member Szczepan Balicki, 30 people took the floor and amendments to the statutory principles project were introduced as a result of the discussion. In the workshop on a practical program of action of the National Rebirth Movement in the province, presided over by Ryszard Wasik, 18 people took the floor.

Afterwards the plenum elected the final 13 delegates from Katowice Province to the First PRON Congress. The plenum also elected 14 members for the PRON National Council who will be recommended to the congress. The plenum endorsed the results of the discussion on the projects for the PRON statutory principles and obligated the congress participants from Katowice Province to take this stand during the deliberations. The plenum also convened a workshop for Intercessions, whose task, beside the investigation of concrete issues, will be to give organized aid and coordinate the work of regional cells in this regard. The text of an appeal to Katowice Province residents on the issue of celebrating the holidays of 1 and 3 May was endorsed and will be published shortly.

The composition of congress commissions and the leadership of Katowice Province delegation for the First PRON Congress, which will be headed by Dr Wieslaw Nowicki, the WK PRON president in Katowice, also were endorsed.

#### Resolution

In the resolution adopted by the plenum we read, among other things: "We believe that the proposed concept of the movement is compatible with the country's present internal situation. Its practical implementation will help to speed up the process of the Polish accord. The only rational alternative to chaos, anarchy and the collapse of our state are the unification of all the actions of all patriots, so much needed by Poland, the partnership cooperation of all citizens in leading the country out of crisis and in the great work of rebuilding the republic, and harmonious participation of authorities and society in this process. We are glad to approve all documents which speak of the willingness of the authorities to reform the mechanisms and methods of exercising power and of combining them with the need for the revival of civic attitudes. For we see this as an essential condition and guarantee of overcoming the crisis in the country.

Work for Poland ought to unite all Poles. Concern about its future and fate ought to favor the liquidation of divisions between believers and nonbelievers, party and nonparty members. We pledge to contribute to the work of strengthening the normalization of the state's functioning and creating together the political, social and economic conditions for the stabilization of the country's life.

Recognizing the identity and distinctness of outlooks, and the right to independence of every one of the movement's members, we see in this its strength and true guarantee of openness. We declare that the PRON must and will defend the principles of the state's socialist system contained in the PRL constitution and that in the PRON there is no room for enemies of socialism. We believe that the 20 July declaration of the Polish United Workers' Party, United Peasants' Party, Democratic Party, Pax Association, and Christian Social Association and Polish Catholic-Social Union, was an event of the highest importance for further development of the rebirth movement. For it provided an additional impulse for the movement's development, a political guarantee for the possibilities of realizing the tasks undertaken by the movement, and a pledge by its signatories to give it the indispensable help and support. We see this as a confirmation of the signatories' will to create conditions for a socialist renewal in the country."

The plenum ended with the singing of the "Dabrowski Mazurka."

"PRON must be an organization for communication between all Poles above the divisions of outlook or generation. The PRON movement received an enormous credit of social trust in implementing the principles of justice, in striving for full renewal of moral and humanistic values in the nation"--such thoughts were the guiding principles of PRON provincial congresses and conferences taking place around the country. At the first Warsaw PRON conference, attended by the president of the PRON Temporary National Council, Jan Dobraczynski and

the secretary general of this Council, CC PZPR secretary Marian Orzechowski, and CC Politburo member, first secretary of the PZPR Warsaw Committee, Marian Wozniak, it was pointed out that, among other things, the genealogy of PRON is too modestly defined in the all-national PRON declaration; it should reach back to the 400-year old tradition of struggle for the repair of the republic. It was emphasized during the PRON Provincial Congress in Cracow, in which PZPR CC Politburo member, comrade Hieronime Kubiak participated, that the accord is the most important issue because it brings as a result cooperation, ability for dialogue, and releases creative forces instead of destructive ones. The issue of national accord was also stressed in Wroclaw, at the expanded plenum of the PRON Provincial Temporary Council, in which Jan Porebski, CC Politburo member, first secretary of the KW PZPR in Wroclaw participated. "Platforms for the joint actions of citizens for the good of Poles must continuously be sought," was stated at the PRON provincial congress in Lodz, in which comrade Tadeusz Czechowicz, CC Politburo member, first secretary of the Lodz PZPR Committee participated.

Precongress meetings also took place in Szczecin, Wloclawek, Piotrkow Trybunalski, Kalisz, Biala Podlaska, Skierniewice, Tarnow, Olsztyn, Chelm, Suwalki, Bialystok and Poznan.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS NOTED

Discussion of Party Ethics

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 7-8 May 83 p 3

[Discussion: "Party Ethics"]

[Text] Opinions and theses contained in the article; "Party Ethics" by B. Morawski, editor are discussed at many meetings. Such meetings took place at basic party organizations in "Prelbuda" [expansion unknown], at the Voivodship Council of Attorneys, OOP [Branch Party Organization] at Iskra [Precision Equipment Plant], and in Municipal Construction Combine [KBM] in Kielce. We present fragments of a discussion that took place at the KBM meeting. They are prepared on the basis of the meeting minutes.

Ryszard Zych: I think that the relationship between rank and file party members and political activists is the main issue. If party activists fully adhered to the moral code and observed Lenin's principles in their behavior in the past, our feelings concerning the faith in the party and the authorities would be entirely different now. It will not be easy to rebuild respect and trust. Let us be honest about it--this is only the beginning of the road. I learned about communism when I was very young, from comrade Fiutowski, an old Ostrowiec communist. He taught me that a communist has to base his actions on respect for people and demands made on himself. Self-criticism has to come before one can be critical of others. Self-criticism and criticism are one. They constitute the most important party principle. In this respect I do not agree with Mr Morawski who lists this principle at the third place.

I belong to the generation which lived through all the crisis curves of post-war Poland. I have been in the party for a long time, and I believe that the party needs hard work and strict accounting for actions of its members. When this aspect of the party life is missing--troubles and moral problems develop.

We have to learn how to take advantage of role models presented by old communists. They knew what they wanted. They joined the party to participate in a great cause rather than because of promises. How many careers have been made thanks to the party ticket?

One more thing: the highest demands should be made on party members. Demands have to be made and accounted for. When this becomes common practice the party ethics and moral code will become a real model and a leading value in the society's life.

Irena Skronska: As our plant echelon's OOP first secretary, I do not participate in discussions concerning the posture of party members for the first time. I want to express my views concerning the subjects that are discussed most often, i.e. that problems developed when so-called quotas on development of party ranks were imposed on us. "This year," we were told, "you have to admit that many new party members." All kinds of people joined. Very often they did it to further their careers and for their own benefit. Often they joined without proper recommendation. Later the same people turned in their party tickets in masses. Did anybody hear that proper measures were taken concerning people who recommended those members? I did not. It would be worthwhile to explore this subject today. It would contribute considerably to the current process of renewing the party and building up its moral fiber and organizational capacity. Faith in echelons and party authorities is another important matter. We cannot allow a smallest mistake in this area. If party rank and file members do not trust their leadership, and the leadership does not enjoy real authority, the party's health will not improve for a long time to come. This is a basic rule of the party unity, and there is a great need for it. Much still needs to be done in this area.

Julian Kuta: I have misgivings concerning Mr Morawski's views. He wrote about two kinds of party responsibility. I agree with his claim that the party member is responsible for himself and for his personal contribution to the party. However, I do not agree with his statement that every party member is responsible for the whole party and its political direction. If the rank and file party member does not have any real capability of shaping the party policy, its strategy and tactics, he cannot be held responsible for the party activities. All-knowing people who do not listen to rank and file voices are beginning to appear again. If we do not put a stop to it, there will be more problems.

Stanislawa Piecowa: What I say will be very personal. We are not scholars of ethics and up to now the literature did not spoil us with interesting texts on party ethics. We are, therefore, forced to relay on our own thoughts and experience.

Why does everything we do have to be based on a theory? Sometimes it seems that when something is not known in theory, it cannot be considered a valid practical experience. I will give an example. A while ago an old experienced worker was interviewed on the radio. He spoke beautifully and wisely about his life and about a laborer's honesty and dignity. The interviewer ended the interview with a statement: here we have life lived according to the socialist moral principles. I cannot agree with this statement. Was the worker's life a conscious fulfillment of the ideal of socialist moral principles, or did the principles grow out of the man's life experience, lives of those like him, and out of the whole proletarian ethos? Maybe we are not able to influence

the younger generation because we always seek moral models in theory rather than in real everyday life. Role models are all around us. They are real, specific, and attractive. We just have to use them with greater skill.

Another matter that causes me much concern has a form of a classic moral dilemma concerning the principle requiring party members to hold similar views and have common objectives versus the parallel sense of my belonging to the teachers' professional community. As a teacher, I understand that my colleagues are torn and concerned regarding the proposal according to which the implementation of the Teacher's Charter resolutions would be postponed. The resolution calls for lower work hours and earlier retirement for teachers. However, as party member I understand the principal validity of the proposal, which is favored by the administrative and political authorities. I also want to say that my inner conflict is an example of a moral principle at work, which manifests itself in this kind of feelings and in finding solutions. The party moral principles of teachers--party members will be manifested in such matters as their attitude toward their colleagues who are not party members concerning this controversial issue, which is a cause of much bitterness and mistrust.

Andrzej Pater: I generally agree with Mr Morawski's main theses. The question is not whether Mr Morawski gave this or that thesis the first or the last place. Rather, the question is whether all of the party ethical principles were listed in his article. I think that this is the case, and anyway, I cannot think of any other principle either. Thinking about the party moral code I would strongly emphasize the question of truthfulness and especially of the need for words to be in accord with political practices of the party as a whole rather than with actions of specific persons. Truthfulness is linked to credibility and trust. It is also linked to the issue of party propaganda. The propaganda helps us spread our party's socialist values and ideals. These are subtle matters and we should remember always, but now in particular, that crude and primitive propaganda has been the main factor of people's negative attitude toward the party.

Jerzy Szczerba: Practical implementation and adherence to party moral principles is the most important matter. After all, the party ethics and moral code grew out of socialist moral principles. I think that the whole process of moral education in the spirit of socialism should begin at home and school.

Jerzy Kowalik: When we speak about the party moral code we should remember that this is a special kind of ethics. It is developed during the life of a person or group of people as an addition to the basic human moral principles. First we must build the foundations and then put up the human personality. After that we can create ornaments. We will not get too far wondering about improvements on what we now call the party ethics and the moral code, without any regard for human moral principles in general. Many questions come to mind, such as the responsibility of party members for their own children's upbringing. According to which moral code are those children raised? Another question concerns the party member's attitude: is he honest, truthful, considerate of others, and a good worker? These qualities are a product of upbringing starting with the earliest years of the person's life. This is where we have to start.



However, we cannot wait for a new generation of party members. That is why we must ask the following question: What should we do now to ensure the proper attitude of comrades? I will not discover America by saying: let us make people accountable for their actions and their performance. All statements made at branch organizations' meetings point to a need for this. Tolerance of mediocre work and even infractions of basic norms of the PZPR statute and work code resulted in great moral damage. Since everybody agrees with this assessment, everybody should begin the process of moral rebirth of the party from making members accountable.

### Change in Party Organizations' Objectives

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 10 May 83 p 3

[Article by Marek Heyza: "We Are Not Trying To Move Back Hands of the Clock"]

[Text] Evaluation meetings have become a permanent, even a traditional form of operation for the PZPR executive committee city echelon in Bydgoszcz. The meetings are usually preceded by the work conducted by the KM [city committee] evaluation team. The team analyzes records of the party organization that is being evaluated and conducts talks with its members individually. The data gathered in this often arduous way becomes the basis for the evaluation. The evaluation results are presented to the KM executive committee and other appropriate bodies. Recently the KM executive committee was interested in the activities of the Thermal-Electric Power Station party organization in Bydgoszcz. The results of its evaluation, which was conducted at the evaluation meeting, concern other party organizations as well. Functioning methods of the party organization were the main subject of the evaluation. This subject is not sufficiently appreciated by many organizations.

The party organization executive committee has a major impact on the organization's functioning. This relationship is easy to notice when looking at three OOPs that are parts of the Thermal-Electric Power Plant POP in Bydgoszcz. Members of the KM evaluation team could not examine records of the OOP No 3 activities because no such records were kept. Thus, it was impossible to determine when the organization's executive committee had met, and how many meetings took place since meetings were not recorded. The organization's first secretary admitted that in 1981 no meetings took place (i.e. statutory activities were not conducted), and in 1982 they took place once or twice per quarter. The report meeting is lacking minutes as well as the report that would prove that the meeting was prepared. "We do not have a secretary," says one PZPR activist, "There is only a comrade who works at a turbine."

In other OOPs records are incomplete and are not kept in order. This concerns even important documents, such as minutes from the executive committee's meetings. Records of the OOP No 1 do not contain any information concerning participants of meetings that took place, and in many cases even the subject of the meeting is not recorded.

In any case, the meetings were rare; only five in 1981 and nine in 1982. That means that meetings did not take place even once a month. The OOP No 2 situation is similar. Should we be surprised then that party meetings of whole organizations were just as infrequent? The situation in 1981 is explained by the OOP No 2 secretary, who said that the difficult political situation and "fear of persecution from Solidarity" was the reason for infrequent meetings. It is true that the situation was tense at the time at the plant, just as it was at other plants. However, this situation required wise, thought-out actions on the part of organizations rather than hiding their heads in the sand. After all, other PZPR plant organizations were active and alert and earned respect of people.

It is very difficult to justify such a small number of meetings, especially during the time of important political events, such as the Ninth Congress, martial law, and adoption of the trade union law. Unfortunately, not much attention was devoted to these events by the party organizations. Their attention was concentrated on matters concerning keeping order in the plant. "We defended production," says one comrade. "We did not have even one strike here, even though there were plenty of those willing to participate in one."

This was important, of course. However, production may have been saved at the expense of the party. After all, party meetings should not be just production meetings. The success of party meetings is to a considerable degree determined by careful preparation, which should be done by the executive committee and it should include defining the subject and the order of the meeting.

"How many times do we have to rehash old issues? We told each other already so much, do we have to beat our breasts again?" said one POP secretary at the evaluation meeting. "We do not want to move back hands of the clock," said a KM secretary, "but we do want to learn from our experience and avoid future mistakes."

In view of this situation the KM executive committee developed recommendations for the Thermal-Electrical Plant party organization. The committee pointed out to the POP executive committee the necessity of both monitoring and supporting activities of branch organizations. According to the KM comrades, it is also important to assign and implement party tasks. Attention was also paid to former PZPR members who during the difficult, tense period broke down and left the party. The decision they made at the time does not necessarily mean that they are worthless to the party. It is also important to work among those who have never belonged to the party. The PZPR program should be presented in a businesslike manner and its policies explained. The KM comrades promised that the echelon will also help in this area.

Will the comrades from the Thermal-Electric Power Station be able to raise the level of the party functioning? On the basis of the meetings with the OOPs No 1 and No 2, which took place right before the KM executive committee meeting,

they are capable of accomplishing it. Those meetings were well prepared and conducted, and discussions were businesslike. The discussions concerned such subjects as the implementation of the plant savings program, problems with the enterprise's training program, and fulfillment of current OOP tasks. We believe that recommendations made by the executive committee during the evaluation meeting are realistic and will be implemented.

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## PROVINCIAL BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS' ACTIVITIES NOTED

## Need of Workers in Industry

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 23 May 83 p 3

[Text] In the 1970's when the majority of our enterprises were growing so rapidly due to the dynamics of the production increases, when particularly the nominal production capacities in old factories were commonly exceeded, when the flow of materials, investment means and currencies abounded, it frequently happened to me to address enterprise directors with a then very suspicious question: What would they do first in order to improve efficiency, if they had a free hand in the management? The answers, although only private ones, were all the same: every director would lay off useless workers.

It did not come about this way, quite to the contrary, the workers demand had increased relatively. And it needs to be sadly stressed that despite a comparatively poor production output heavy industry still remains a huge drain on society's resources, and because of its traditional aggressiveness also absorbs, out of the market, those labor resources which according to the unsatisfied demand of society are needed elsewhere. To wit: by market-related industries such as light, chemical, engineering, housing construction, by the sector of material services and the institutions for public utility. One has to be conscious that despite a significant renewal of production potential in Poland, the social productivity of every blue-collar worker is from two to three times lower than one compared to the majority of eastern and western countries, which deepens shortcomings in an obvious way.

The similar phenomenon, that is, the upward trend of "supply" enterprises towards the old production level almost through cadre-hiring policies only--with a comparatively low productivity--takes place also in Kielce Voivodship and, by the way, similar tendencies appeared in nonproductive institutions and enterprises.

As a matter of fact, it consolidates and deepens the defective productive structure and the inefficient employment structure, and so generates determined obstacles.

According to statistics, for every job-hunting person there are 18.7 places in Kielce Voivodship, whereas for every worker there are as many as 52 job offers. This data, however, should inspire grave doubts. It does not reflect real needs, because 86 percent of said needs stem from the fluctuation which means that personnel departments almost never study, in enterprises, the cadre figures, cultivating a certain bureaucratic automatism which lies in the fact that the blue-collar workers directed to employment departments always slightly exceed the number of people dismissed for whatever reasons in a given period of time. Employment policy in enterprises should be rationalized. Further, the number of job offers does not reflect the real state of things, as many people look for a job and do not find one. The number of people seeking employment, although not recorded (in December 1982, the number of unemployed people officially reached 280 persons in Kielce Voivodship), according to experts, however, is quite significant and does not include nonproductive labor forces only, unskilled women and the so-called social outcast. On the other hand, not every enterprise has the obligation to make use of state employment agencies, and one cannot go without seeing a producer exempted from this obligation. With general the tendency of enterprises to hide their real cadre needs and frequently to exaggerate them, with the limited statistical proof of blue-collar worker mobility and the shortage of reliable manpower data, one cannot presently speak about a clear-cut employment policy or even less about its rationalization.

After all, currently it is ill-specified whether this policy should be effectively conducted, guided or determined by the state administrative agencies, or by the workplaces on the basis of efficiency calculations. Justified suppositions point to the fact that what is now going on in the labor market is neither the result of the former nor of the latter. Personally, I attribute this state of affairs to a relaxation of discipline linked to the transitional period between the collapse of the command system, of limit and investment indicators, and the time of rationalism and purposefulness which has not arrived yet, however.

For it to arrive as quickly as possible, it is necessary to take appropriate measures that would put every working person in the place where he is most needed. There is no more misleading assumption than to state that we are too few and that this is the main obstacle to economic progress. The obstacle lies, however, in the fact that we cannot, in the third year of crisis, readjust to the new goals without resistance and reluctance, we cannot reorganize forces and subordinate them to the new goals. In the past, failures were ascribed to bad crops and other independent factors; today the widely used alibi is based on the decision on early pensions. It is right to know that in Kielce Voivodship 6340 blue-collar workers retired. If this decrease--it is not important--whether expected or not, does in a significant way cut into the base of the socialized economy, it still employs over 320,000 people and has huge reserves at its disposal, because of a variety of organizational distortions. Everything points to the fact that

the process of economic recovery will require important changes--and who can say but that these changes should not start actually by shifts in the employment structure. What does this mean?

First, reduction of overemployment tendencies in the enterprises with the classical "A" profile, and their partial shift to the market or to cooperation with the market producers. Important but now ineffective production forces in Kielce Voivodship would make economic sense, this way. Simultaneously, at every workplace productivity should increase as the result of organizational and technical progress.

Secondly, Kielce enterprises need employment changes in the sector related directly to production. For the latter has over 1/3 of all labor resources in industry. Third, there is great need to identify and abolish the practice of giving positions in production to the administration.

Fourth, to undertake a labor analysis and use the enterprise centers for research and development, and to employ their unquestionable surplus employment directly into production.

Fifth, to reduce the number and scope of all extra-industrial and nonproductive structures existing in numerous voivodship enterprises, administrations, unions, offices, outlets and all administrative "annexes," which are left-overs of the old and not-too-good times. To move into market production numerous inefficient cadres and wide-scaled services.

The last four points are particularly important to increase national income. As is known, only direct participants of the production process partake in actual production, the rest are on the consumption side. Thus, when the national income needs to be augmented, the production forces must increase appropriately. Indeed, as a result of well-known irregularities these production forces had diminished excessively in the most vulnerable sectors. In socialism, work ceased to be a merchandise but for scores of reasons caused by the temporary--crisis-related--decline of planning, it was put within the scope of the law of supply and demand. We observe a demand overbalance--an outward one, because it does not stem from the shortages in general but only from the perturbations in employment shifts. "I think that the realization of an unusually complex goal, which is the optimal utilization of labor resources, should encompass two elements," says Helena Ostachowska, deputy chairwoman of the Voivodship Planning Commission, "a stimulating and a supervising role of the state as the initiator of reforms and economic incentives. The first is, among other things, the balance-sheet of resources and needs, particularly in favored areas, a framework for the practice of shifts, an adjustment of education to economic needs and supervision of employment policy. The second is the effective pay for the so-called secondary sector employees, that is, those sectors subordinated to market production and to the service of society. Wages should do away with the common and harmful stereotype of so-called vertical promotions, link people to their profession, and make them advance within its limits. The question addressed in the title of the article should be answered in a

resolutely negative manner. An affirmative reply would imply an absurdity: that Poles, as a community, cannot sustain the burden of their existence."

#### Blue-Collar Openings Available in Gorzow

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 23 May 1983 p 3

[Text] A few months ago two radio flash reports were aired. It was disclosed that there had been 6,000 job openings in Poznan and 3200 in Gorzow. Great, industrialized Poznan and 100,000-strong Gorzow. A telling comparison. But this was several months ago, Now we are in the beginning of May and there are 4,690 job openings, an increase of 1,490. Officially and statistically, everything is in keeping with the facts. There is a demand in the workplace, and the Voivodship Employment Department in Gorzow counts and very carefully records every demand. One can find a formal explanation to this state of affairs. It is known that after August 1980, the pressure to increase social privileges was so high, inflamed purposefully, that no rational, economic arguments could have availed. Willingly or not, the chiefs of respective ministry-related departments and the government itself kept on increasing these privileges. Consequently, the retirement age was scaled down, the weekday work time was lowered, early pensions had been granted, the duration of maternity as well as upbringing leaves was lengthened. As a result, by the end of last year there were 11,511 persons on upbringing leave, almost 3,000 more than the year before, and 3 years ago there were only 3,000 women on this leave. Further, in 1982, 4,450 out of 5,050 retired persons retired early. Statistics are obviously not complete but there is no reason to bend readers' ears about the excessive figures. And it is clear from those disclosed that this "explosion" of social privileges was one of the current problems of the labor market.

It is an indisputable fact, from the economic point of view, that the state could not afford so many important privileges, especially in a situation of deepening crisis. But it would be a mistake to blame these privileges for the crisis. Stanislaw Wtorek, Voivodship Employment Department chief, says: "In the forthcoming fall the labor market will increase by 5,000 university graduates and the balance will even up. By extending the aforementioned social privileges, it was assumed that with the drop in economic activity a situation might occur in which there were no job openings for young people entering productive age. Maternity and upbringing leaves, earlier pensions were to give an opportunity for youth." Perhaps Director Wtorek's forecast will come true. May it be so.

The problem goes, however, beyond employment statistical data. There is another side of the picture, the production of consumer goods. Statistical data related to this sphere of activity point to a drop in labor productivity, generally speaking. This drop is sharper than that of employment. Here lies the heart of the problem. Statistically, every blue-collar worker produces less than 3 years ago, than last year. And in some enterprises, a significant drop in production should be added because of the suppression of third shifts. If the situation prevails, we will never pull out of the crisis.

Our crisis stems from the fact that we used to consume more than we produced. Thus, the trend ought to be reversed. Because there is not much to deprive people of, it is necessary to produce far more. Raw materials cannot go unutilized, machines cannot remain inactive, when at the same time we face empty store shelves. In order to reach economic equilibrium, several conditions must be fulfilled, and employment rationalization is one of them.

To simplify, the point is that every man must be used to his optimum at the workplace. This is a basic economic principle. This is true, but is it observed by the managements of our enterprises, workplaces, in general?

Research indicates that in several workplaces, among others, the State Machine Works [POM] in Slubice and the Barola cooperative in Balinek, unsupervised blue-collar workers took off during the working hours and yet made money as if they had worked. In industry, for example, 74 percent of all employed persons are production workers, but those who directly produce material goods account for only 45 percent. In construction, workers participating in production account for about 38 percent by Stanislaw Nowak, Gorzow governor, during the meeting of the aktiv. In 1982, in Gorzow Voivodship 50 percent fewer apartments were constructed than in 1978, but the employment rate in the housing construction enterprises decreased only by 9 percent. Public opinion is concerned about the growth of administrative employment in enterprises. Enterprise managements assert that this is not the case, that the administrative apparatus is swamped with work, particularly at a time of significant supply problems, important cadre shifts and increased social tasks. Perhaps these are valid points, but after all accountability has been reduced authoritatively, the system of wages has been simplified, a great many of duties have been taken away from the administration and turned over to the new unions. Meanwhile, employment in industrial administration did not budge. Is it not a matter to be submitted for discussion, particularly not in the workers' councils.

If something is in short supply, then it is necessary to manage economically. There is a shortage of labor, and how is it handled? In 1982 in comparison to the 1983 number of lost working hours, statistically speaking, increased by 5 percent, unjustified work absences increased by 30 percent. Simultaneously the fluctuation of the employment rate increased by 25 percent. All this is proof of the lack of discipline, of a wise employment policy as well as of the disorder of wages system.

The reform will eliminate these anomalies. To this end, appropriate incentives are being created. The point is that they can be put into action very soon if they are used properly, and on the other hand their effect can be considered by enterprises seriously. And we should be in a hurry.



## Blue-Collar Workers Against Inflation

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 23 May 1983 p 3

[Text] In the government-sponsored program of action against inflation, there are 8 basic ways of struggling against this grave economic phenomenon. The first method, which consists of an increased utilization of production capabilities in the enterprises producing market-related goods, can bring out the most important results.

The government admitted that particular attention among this array of producers should be devoted to the various sectors of light industry. By following the example of Dzierzanow's Silesiana, a great producer of yarn and fabric, we will see what is necessary to be done in order that planned goals become reality.

### Typical Plant, Typical Concerns

The Silesiana is a typical light industry plant; typical, in the sense that it did not escape any of the typical concerns for the whole sector. First of all, a considerable drop of employment has occurred. At the turn of 1981 and 1982, as many as 640 persons retired early, took upbringing leaves or sought easier and better-paid jobs. Thus, the decrease affected the level of production. In the current year it planned to produce 5,400 tons of yarn, which is an increase of 4 percent from last year. But at Silesiana they can turn out as much as 7,000 tons; it is necessary, however, to have an appropriate labor force, specifically 120 more women.

This is the only obstacle, as the raw material is not in short supply. Every increase in yarn production, however limited, is of great significance for weaving plants and has a direct impact on the supply of sweaters, stockings, socks, etc, in clothing stores. Thus, it is not an exaggeration to assert that yarn is for light industry what coal is for the general economy. If there are no opportunities at Silesiana for hiring more people, then more efficient methods of yarn production should be applied.

The matter enters a so-called spindle-free spinning. One could imagine that this method is sensational, for in comparison to conventional spinning it makes it possible to reach the same level of production with a 2.5-fold decrease in employment. At Silesiana, yarn is produced in two ways.

Recently, the spindle-free spinning method has been greatly in use. The machines that utilize this method work in three shifts, whereas the conventional spinning department works only one shift. Kazimierz Socha, first director of the Silesiana, warns, however, against the common use of this method. The spindle-free yarn is worse than the conventional one so that a rapid increase in its production would cause a great problem for the weaving plant. In West Germany and Czechoslovakia, for instance, utilization of the spindle-free yarn in the total yarn production accounts for

2 percent, and it is greatly important that this indicator not be exceeded. In our country this indicator accounts already for 4 percent. The development of spindle-free yarn production is not profitable enough for the plant because its production is cheaper than the conventional one. In the Dzierzanow plant it is difficult to increase labor efficiency through modernization, equipment repairs, etc, for the plant is a modern one, constructed recently.

Consequently, there is only one method left, which is the creation of an appropriate incentive system. It was decided that the system fulfill two basic goals: to link wages with the production level and to cause all blue-collar workers to be financially interested in the production output of the plant. Also the wage system was simplified to the greatest extent, thus, a great many of its ingredients were eliminated. A woman employee presently gets paid on the basis of kilogram-production of yarn; hence, everybody can figure out how much he will have earned in a given day. The Saturday-free workdays are favored; a spinner, during these days, can make as much as 1500-1800 zlotys. In such a situation, the unit price of yarn is tripled, and the plant leadership is still interested in paying the spinners such high rates. In comparison to last year, the premium of the spinners increased significantly, by 45 percent. This professional category is at Silesiana the most favored, it suffices to say that an average salary in the plant increased only by 14 percent including an increase of barely 2 percent for the white-collar workers.

#### Up to the Average

Despite these favorable changes for the workers directly related to production, few in Dzierzanow would like to work at Silesiana, and a great many blue-collar workers of this plant seek new jobs. This is because in spite of a significant increase of the average salary, particularly for the spinners, its level is still too low against the national average salary. In the first quarter of the current year, the average wage in the plant reached 10,800 zlotys. Because this salary is not big enough to attract an important number of blue-collar workers, the Silesiana received 4 million zlotys for raises.

The increase of raises, in such a case, would not be liable to tax out of the Vocational Activization Fund [FAZ]. The plant management is not, however, quite satisfied with this solution. First, the authoritatively decided quota is only attributed to the raise of the spinners' wages. But there are, however, other professional categories of equal importance in the plant which suffer from significant employment shortcomings. A too-large increase for spinners' wages, in relation to the rest of the women employed directly in production, can deform the wage system. Director Socha would be more pleased if he could distribute the granted funds among all plant workers. Fund distribution would be made in accordance with the rules of the plant's wage policy.

Secondly, the amount of money received is not so high, contrary to appearances; it allows an increase of about 400 zlotys a month for spinner

salaries. Consequently, the problem still remains how to get the light industry blue-collar workers' wages closer to the national average. The fact is, however, that these measures must be in compliance with the principles of the economic reform, and that they not consist of authoritatively attributed funds with particular utilization. At the beginning of this year, the Council of Ministers decided to increase the so-called compensatory coefficient to an 0.8 level which is applied for the determination of the amount exempted from the FAZ tax. It would mean that, for instance, the Silesiana could increase by 0.8 the wages fund tax-free, for every percent of production increase. Unfortunately this coefficient was lowered to 0.65. The following facts attest to the shortcomings of the matter discussed: the Silesiana, as I have already mentioned, is a modern plant, where labor conditions are good in comparison to light industry plants. But these conditions are not good enough to permit the Silesiana to win the competition in the labor market against, for instance, Dzierzaniew's Diora, which offers to women even lower salaries than the Silesiana: Diora's strong points are laboratory-like working conditions. At Silesiana there is also a small group of workers employed at picking raw materials. This is hard work, requiring considerable skill, but also well-paid. For an hour's work, a worker gets about 95 zlotys. These workers want, however, to quit the Silesiana because of the work burden precisely. The examples presented attest to the fact that Silesiana and light industry in general do not score well in the labor market.

#### Aggressiveness Decides

At Silesiana besides yarn, fabrics such as shirts, corduroy, crepe cloth, etc., are produced. After an appropriate processing these fabrics are sent for finishing to Lodz. In this category of outlets a significant production increase is not forecast, and as to the corduroy a downward tendency is noted. The production of fabrics is, however, very profitable for the plant; as much as 70 percent of its production is exported to the capitalist countries. Out of this hard currency, the plant buys indispensable spare parts. By contrast, its growing problems are due to the acquiring of spare parts for nationally-produced machines. These problems were caused, among other things, by the changes in the supply system of these goods. The old so-called sector stores to which respective enterprises had been assigned, were closed down. Currently, plants supply themselves directly from spare parts producers or through the special supply enterprises located in Lodz principally. It frequently comes to a situation where the acquiring of indispensable parts is the result of a given plant's aggressiveness and not its real needs. A significant segment of light industry representatives think, however, that the present system is better, for it is in line with reform principles.

Out of the Silesiana example, we see that there are considerable reserves in light industry. Most difficult to overcome for this sector is the employment problem; it is easier to cope with the material obstacle. The realization of the anti-inflation program in light industry must therefore amount to more resolute actions aimed at increasing employment.

## Blue-Collar Workers on Reform

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 24 May 1983 p 3

[Text] In accordance with the earlier declarations, until the end of June of the current year, the review of tools and mechanisms of the economic reform should be carried out. It is one of the most important economic problems presently. The point is to bring out modifications and changes in the systemic solutions of the reform as well as to increase the efficiency of its mechanisms thus, simultaneously creating conditions for the full realization of the adopted tasks by the 9th PZPR Congress. This approach to the problem of changes in the reform solutions has been widely displayed by statements of blue-collar workers, made in the framework of a special poll that was conducted by the Polish Press Agency journalists in dozens of workplaces the country over.

The statements have pointed to the need for changes in the mechanisms of the reform, but simultaneously they stressed the necessity for keeping in line with the tasks of the last party congress, that were approved by the Sejm. The blue-collar workers, as it appears from the poll, harbor great hope about the reform, seeing in it primarily a way of pulling out of the crisis and an opportunity to create a more effective economic system. In this respect, the statement of Aleksander Kobka, from the "Odra" Deep-Water Fishing and Fishermen Services plant in Swinoujscie, was particularly meaningful. In the conversation with PAP journalists, he asserted that "about the reform, one can talk only in good terms." There are, however, in the reform many incoherent matters that need to be eliminated or explained rapidly. "What bothers me," he goes on, "are the frequent changes in the principles that were endorsed at the beginning of the introduction of the reform." The matters enumerated in the respective statements should be explained and resolved in the course of further proceedings.

The critical remarks were not missing though. Following the A. Kobka statement, an urgent problem is, for instance, to increase the efficiency of the applicable incentives system as well as to change the regulations of the State Vocational Activization Fund, which do not contribute to the increase of labor efficiency. Others called attention to the necessity to not only favor finished goods, but also the production of spare parts. As Tadeusz Malek, from the Olsztyn Furniture Factory, said: "Production of spare parts becomes simply unprofitable; but why should we buy the whole machine tool if we need only some of its spare parts? We try to produce them on our own, but obviously it is a more costly solution than their mass-production." Many statements pointed to the excessive payment amounts, in the enterprises' opinion, to the state budget. "The deduction of 70 percent profit is a bit too much," said Stanislaw Bant, director of the Wolana Weaving Industry Plant [ZPW] in Zdunska Wola. What is left at the disposal of the enterprise is not enough for its development. In Baruk's opinion, "The funds that have been worked out in the process of amortization should be appropriated for the development of the plant." The consecutive critical remarks dealt with making a stronger impact on the improvement of

quality. It has been pointed out, for instance, that low efficiency results in the applicable incentive systems in a situation where the raw materials of adequate quality are in short supply. Much has been said about the employment problems. In Jozef Kleiber's opinion from the PZL-Kalisz Transportation Equipment Plant [WSK], "it would be to the purpose to make presently a thorough review of employment policy. Too many people," he said, "have been living out of the blue-collar workers employed directly in production. It is great time that the reform pull them out of their offices."

Tadeusz Urban, a locksmith at Spare Parts Plant in Radom, has talked about the excess of bureaucracy as well. "The bureaucracy," he said, "not only dominated offices but also production. Again and again, hundreds of stores receipts have been written out while wasting time and paper."

Some statements have pointed to threats to the reform. For Jerzy Bonselewski, an overseer at the Toral Electronic Plant in Torun, the greatest threat lies in the old habits and methods of action that characterize the various management units. "We cannot be consistent and do not manage to part with people who work poorly including those in the administration," he said during his conversation with the PAP journalists. Threat to the reform is also perceived in the growing activity of associations which very frequently replace the former unions. As Zbigniew Gorny, from the Prefabet Concrete Industry Plant in Gdansk, asserted: "The associations call for more information and accounts to be reported, thus assuming the charge of intermediary management units." From the review of these opinions and critical remarks, it stems that there are still much resistance and many problems encountered by the practical realization of the reform. In a sense, this normal and understandable. We have been applying the reform for dozens of months and one has to take into account as much its problemsolving shortcomings, as the variety of obstacles due to the old habits and customs or even the fear of losing the hitherto held positions. Of important significance is the fact--as the PAP poll brought out into the open--that in the workplaces the overwhelming majority of the blue-collar workers bank consistently on the full realization of the endorsed goals of the economic reform.

12328

CSO: 2600/938

PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES NOTED

Joining Forces in Trade Unions

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 24 May 83 p 3

[Article by Lucjan Pracki: "Labor Unions, Time for Joining Forces"]

[Text] Surely there were few who foresaw that several months after the trade union law went into effect there would begin a process of uniting plant organizations in a countrywide structure. However, that's how it happened. Taking advantage of its legislative authority the National Council agreed on 10 May of this year to initiate activation by the federation of steelworkers' trade unions beginning with the day of its registration in the provisional court in Warsaw.

According to information making its way to us everyday, it can be concluded that this is not an isolated instance. Trade union organizations of miners, farmers, machine industry workers, the Polish Motor Transport Company [PKS], Municipal Transport Company [MZK], the Coop Spolem and others are preparing themselves for the creation of national structures. One could therefore assume that steelworkers will see many people imitating them within this year?

This is a good forecast for labor unions and for the country, a visible sign of progress and stabilization. We know with what kind of difficulty company labor union organizations arise, and how many obstacles and biases they must overcome in order to unite new members. Remembering the bitter experiences connected with the previous unions, people in many cases also relate to the newly created unions in a reserved manner. However, they will slowly become convinced that they should be created, for there is no better way to defend the workers' interests and express their opinions and demands.

That is why the ranks of union members are increasing little by little. We have over 10,000 company organizations and 2,300,000 members--an average of 20 percent of the overall number of those employed. But the process of building the labor movement is already so far advanced in certain branches of the economy and in certain professional circles that it became possible to create structures beyond the company scale earlier than as established by law.

In many respects, they are very much needed. They above all give the unions the fullness of its powers as envisioned by the law, and possible to bring into reality only within the framework of a national structure (for instance, negotiation of collective work agreements on a national scale). They increase the unions' strength and its ability to effectively influence the administration. They constitute support for diverse plant organizations and they can offer them indispensable help. They allow the whole union to be incorporated and not only its production sector. And, most important of all, creation of countrywide structures finishes the process of rebuilding trade unions as an indispensable structural element in our country and foundation for its revival.

It is my feeling, that this unexpectedly early, but completely justified tendency to become united and create national organizations comes precisely from this. To create federated organizations but of a uniform character--dependent on the will of union members themselves.

It is significant, that all of this is taking place on the basis of initiatives from the bottom, through a voluntary call for interplant groups of national founding organizations. They can undertake resolutions on founding such an organization only when more than half of the company organizations from a given branch of the economy or professional circle joins it. Therefore, there are no orders from above. The will of union members themselves decides everything.

The initiators of these efforts most clearly do not want to repeat the mistakes of the past. From the beginning they desire to create non-bureaucratic structures, which will serve the unions, and not direct them. This is a good beginning to a new phase in development of the union movement in Poland.

#### Workers' Union Activities

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 24 May 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (R): "Meeting With Activists of the Workers' Movement"]

[Text] Yesterday in the Provincial Committee Building a meeting of a large group--over 200 persons--of meritorious activists of the workers' movement took place with the leadership of the PZPR Provincial Committee, represented among others by First Secretary Eugeniusz Mroz and Secretary Zdzislaw Niedzielski. Extensive information was presented to those gathered: by Secretary Niedzielski about the current sociopolitical situation in the country and province, head of the Provincial Committee's Economic Division--Czeslaw Wieczkowicz--about the realization of economic tasks in the Opole region, representative of the Political-Organizational Division's director--Jozef Mizera--about the situation in the union movement.

The tradition of these periodic meetings is not only the briefing of activists-veterans, but also to listen to their comments and opinions on the subject of what is happening in the party and in the country.

These opinions usually are critical and at any rate they attest to the high demands which veterans place before their successors. And it was not different this time. Of the several speakers, who voiced their opinion in the discussion, all were more or less critical. However, if one follows these meetings through a long period of time, it's possible to notice that the specific weight of that criticism is different. There is a different emotional temperament to the session. The veteran comrades showed again that they are very discriminating observers and frequently are still active participants in political life. As in the past they have not ceased to be sensitive to many negative phenomena, to callousness and to deviation from principles. There were already fewer critical comments this time concerning the party and the complex of political affairs, and more comments were devoted to economic and trade questions.

First Secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, E. Mroz related to many of the matters brought up, enriching them at the same time with information about the most important political tasks waiting for the party in the the coming months.

#### Creation of Federation by Metal Workers

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 24 May 83 p 1

[Article by A.L.: "Creation of the Federation of Metal Workers' Labor Unions; Proxies From 279 Union Organizations Deliberated in Poznan"]

[Text] A consultative meeting of representatives of electronic apparatus industry workers' trade unions took place yesterday in Poznan, whose purpose was to undertake work of a countrywide character intended to create a federation.

Participating in the meeting were representatives of 27 provinces having full powers of 279 union organization from their regions, and also invited guests: Poznan vice-governor, Romuald Zysnarski, and chairman of the Information-Counselling Team for trade union affairs connected with the Adam Mickiewicz University--Assistant Professor Tadeusz Nowak.

The participants of yesterday's meeting expressed the opinion that the time has already come to begin work on creating supraplant structures of the union movement. At the same time, delegates from individual provinces voiced their support for a federational form of the union organization. The view was represented that it must be a federation full of vitality and strength, that will gather together the largest plants of the metal trade.

The degree of organizational work aimed at creating a federation is not uniformly advanced in all provinces. Northern provinces and also Katowice Province were weakly represented. A founding group was elected, whose representatives will participate in union meetings of that trade individual provinces. A date was also set up for the next meeting, which



will also take place in Poznan, at the HCP initiator of these proceedings--on 9 June. At that time it will be possible to discuss problems of concrete statute solutions and other organizational details in a larger group.

In the near future a communique will be related to the press, radio and television for all of those interested in joining the federation. For the purpose of making contacts easier and of giving out organizational requirements to those interested, the organizers have set up the telex number 0414271 under the motto "Federation" at the Cegielski Plant and also two telephone numbers in Poznan: 333-511 and 332-547.

12281

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## WESTERN COMMENT ON ALBANIAN MINORITY IN MACEDONIA

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 23 Jun 83 p 10

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Much Discomfort in Macedonia"]

[Text] Skoplje, in June--Inside Yugoslavia, there are Albanians not only in Kosovo but also in Macedonia and Montenegro. There are only about 38,000 Albanians in Montenegro; but according to the latest census in 1981, there are 377,000 in Macedonia who make up a good 19 percent of the total population. In the last census 10 years ago, it was only 17 percent. The percentage of Albanians is rising in other words. Thus, there is a possibility that their high birth rate coupled with the growth of the other nationalities might relegate the Macedonians themselves to minority status in their own republic within a few short decades.

A Macedonian functionary--an Albanian national at that--said that these were not real issues. The main point, he said, was self-administering socialism. And he said it was inconsequential that in western Macedonia where the Albanians live there are hardly any official or government signs in Albanian--for instance that the signs at the entrance to almost exclusively Albanian Debar do not read "Dibra" as they would if transliterated from the Albanian but bear the Slavic name of "Debar" or that there are hardly any Albanian signs to be found in shops in the town of Struga on Lake Ohrid where Albanians make up one-third of the population. When I reminded him that Yugoslav newspapers spent every day for 30 years telling their readers how important it was to put up signs in Slovenian in Carinthia and that POLITIKA once compared the situation of the Slovenes there with that of the blacks in South Africa in the absence of these signs, the functionary had little to say. And he also did not feel like talking about my suggestion that Albanian nationalism in Yugoslavia might have its origins in Serbian and Macedonian nationalism directed against the Albanians or perhaps in the "Rankovic era." The measures taken during the Rankovic era, he said, were directed all citizens of Yugoslavia. I went on to ask him whether these problems with the signs might not be due to Macedonian nationalism after all. In Tetovo and Gostivar--but only there--the signs in the shops appear in three languages; even in Turkish. Why then conceal the Albanian presence in a place like Struga. The functionary said he had no idea. Was it purely accidental that the sentences passed against so-called Albanian nationalists were particularly stiff in Macedonia, I asked. That depends on the presiding judge, the functionary told me.

The discomfort felt by the young Macedonian nation vis-a-vis the Albanians is understandable because the Macedonians must defend themselves against attacks from many quarters. One might turn the argument around, of course, and say that a situation of this kind might make a people more magnanimous. No doubt present-day Albanian nationalism is aggressive at times. In Kicevo, Albanian teachers and officials tried to claim Macedonian-speaking Moslems as Albanians and give them Albanian names. The Macedonians promptly over-reacted by imposing stiff prison terms on them.

Following the 1941 occupation under the aegis of the Italians, western Macedonia—including Struga—was joined to newly established "Greater Albania." The prefecture for all of western Macedonia was located in Debar. In 1944, a second prefecture in Tetovo was added. Gostivar is considered the center of that particular Albanian nationalist movement which fostered the idea of a "Greater Albania" at the time—which also included a major portion of the Kosovo. Vukmanovic—Tempo, a prominent Yugoslav communist leader in those days, freely admits in his memoirs that the Albanian population of western Macedonia (and of the Kosovo as well) was very much taken with the Greater Albania idea. To the Macedonians, the idea of a republic incorporating all the Albanians living in Yugoslavia—such as is sometimes espoused by Albanian nationalists as a second step after the proclamation of Kosovo republic—seems like a revival of the earlier scheme.

The population relationships in Western Macedonia may be somewhat more complex than in the Kosovo region but at any rate, there are definite Albanian majorities in some of the districts. In Tetovo district, there are 113,000 Albanians as against 38,000 Macedonians; in Gostivar district, 63,000 Albanians against 18,000 Macedonians; in Kicevo district, 23,000 Albanians against 21,000 Macedonians and in Debar district, 10,000 Albanians against 2,500 Macedonians. In the cities, the differences are less marked. In Tetovo, for example, there are 22,000 Albanians, 18,000 Macedonians and 2,000 Turks. But many villages in western Macedonia with their slender minarets are not inhabited by Albanians but by Macedonian-speaking Moslems (of whom there are 40,000 in all according to the latest census). In order to enhance the Macedonian statistics, the officials incline toward listing them as "Moslem Macedonians" and not simply as Moslems.

With the exception of several Orthodox villages around Lake Ohrid, almost all the Albanians living in Macedonia are Moslems. In the Kosovo region, the Moslems are in the majority; but there is a sizable Catholic minority numbering 70,000 to 80,000 (or 6 to 7 percent of the population). These are concentrated in the Prizren area but some have moved to Skoplje and make up about half of the Catholic population there. In contrast to Bosnia-Herzegovina where there are good religious schools and the authorities must contend with Moslem activists patterned after the Moslem Brotherhood, Islam is not held in high esteem among the Albanians whose hoxhas are educated in Pristina. In addition, most of the hoxhas oppose the so-called Albanian nationalism and thus are scarcely respected by the younger generation. The Catholic Church has not taken a position but does stress its Albanian roots. Its stand has attracted young Albanian intellectuals, alienated by socialism and not interested in Islam, who are looking for a dialogue with the Church. As for

Islam, it seems to be transferring in a crude manner to present conditions its old identity as a state church which it already brought to bear against Albanian nationalism in the Turkish era.

The Catholics of the Kosovo region are the only Albanian Catholics remaining in the aftermath of the liquidation of the church structure in northern Albania under Enver Hoxha. It would therefore make sense to establish an independent Albanian bishopric—the only one, for that matter—on the Yugoslav side of the frontier. That, in fact, is what all Albanian Catholics and the priests of the Kosovo region really want.

But thus far, the Vatican appears not to have taken note of this situation. At present, there is a combined bishopric incorporating Skoplje and Prizren headed by a Uniate diocesan from Ruthenia by the name of Herbut while the Albanian contingent is headed by Monsignor Prela, an Albanian from southern Dalmatia, who holds the post of suffragan and vicar-general at Urosevac. This combined bishopric appears not to function very well. I asked a leading communist functionary in Pristina whether the authorities were opposed to the establishment of a diocese at Prizren. His answer was that this was certainly not the case, since the Catholic Church was free to choose its internal structure and the authorities had no intention of interfering. The way thus seems open for a constructive solution.

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END